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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Toward a New Order In Europe

By Denzil G. M. Patrick

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DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

No Third Term!

An Editorial

Religious Poetry in America

By Amos N. Wilder

Time Marches Back

By Margaret Frakes

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In This Issue

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HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL

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Coming

With America apparently approaching another war crisis, what is to be the fate of the Hutterites? And how many Americans know of this distinctive religious sect and the persecution inflicted upon them in 1917-18? Mrs. Nanna Goodhope tells the story in "Must the Hutterites Flee Again?" to be published next week.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

October 16, 1940

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Current Feature Films .....

Calendar of Coming Events

Oct. 9-24. General Episcopal Convention, Kansas City, Mo.
Oct. 13-20. National Christian Mission, Minneapolis.
Oct. 13-Nov. 24. Worship Crusade, Philadelphia.
Oct. 14-17. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Norris, Tenn.
Oct. 15-17. Pennsylvania Baptist Convention, Bethlehem.
Oct. 15-17. Ohio Baptist Convention, Akron.
Oct. 15-18. Alabama Disciples Convention, Montgomery.
Oct. 15-18. Mississippi Disciples Convention, Hattiesburg.
Oct. 15-18. Ohio W.C.T.U. Annual Convention, Cincinnati.
Oct. 16-17. Baptist Union Association, Poole, Ky.
Oct. 16-18. Biennial Congress, Cooperative League, Chicago.
Oct. 16-22. Five Years Meeting, Society of Friends, Richmond, Ind.
Oct. 17. Southwest Texas Methodist Conference, San Antonio.
Oct. 17. Tennessee Methodist Conference, Nashville.
Oct. 17-19. Baptist Old Liberty Association, Lutesville, Mo.
Oct. 17-20. Annual Missionary Baptist Convention, Philadelphia.
Oct. 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Harold Bosley, speaker.
Oct. 20. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Bertrand Russell, George E. Sokolsky, speakers.
Oct. 20-27. National Christian Mission, Oklahoma City.
Oct. 21, 22. Pittsburgh Synod, United Presbyterian Church, Murraysville, Pa.
Oct. 21-24. Illinois Baptist Convention, Mattoon.
Oct . 22. Presbyterian Convocation Day, Des Moines, Ia.
Oct. 22. Western North Carolina Methodist Conference, High Point.
Oct. 22. East Oklahoma Methodist Conference, McAlester.
Oct. 22-24. Western District, Church of the Brethren, Markleysburg, Pa.
Oct. 22-24. Congregational Christian Mid-West Regional Meeting, Akron, O.
Oct. 22-24. Baptist General Association, Harrisburg, Ill.
Oct. 24. Universal Christian Council and World Conference on Faith and Order, American sections, New York.
Oct. 26. North Texas Methodist Conference, Greenville.
Oct. 27-Nov. 3. National Christian Mission, Houston, Tex.
Oct. 27. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; John B. Thompson, speaker.
Oct. 27. Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn., Lowell Thomas, speaker.
Oct. 27. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Joshua Loth Liebman, speaker.
Oct. 27-Nov. 3. National Christian Mission, Houston, Tex.
Oct. 29-31. Northern California Ministers' Conference, Berkeley.
Oct. 30. Institute for Church Women, Baltimore. Md.
Oct. 31. North Mississippi Methodist Conference, Columbus.
Nov. 3. Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Wilfred Grenfell, speaker.
Nov. 3. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; H. R. Knickerbocker, speaker.
Nov. 5. North Arkansas Methodist Convention, Jonesboro.
Nov. 6, Methodist Rural Fellowship, Purdue, Ind.
Nov. 6. Texas Methodist Convention, Houston.
Nov. 6-10. National Christian Mission, Little Rock, Ark.
Nov. 7. North Alabama Methodist Conference, Tuscumbia.
Nov. 7. South Georgia Methodist Convention, Savannah.
Nov. 7. Upper South Carolina Methodist Convention, Anderson.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

LIKE a clear star against velvet night shines the story of a deed just done in Shanghai. When the University of Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese in 1937, the homes of the faculty, Chinese and American, were despoiled and the school buildings were sacked with systematic thoroughness. After long negotiations, the mission boards succeeded in persuading the military authorities to return the university buildings to their rightful owners and to agree to the principle of an indemnity for the destruction. During the discussions of the amount of the indemnity, which was finally settled at about one-fifth of the damage done, the missionaries unsuccessfully held out for reimbursement to their Chinese colleagues for the heavy losses which they also had suffered. When the settlement was recently made by the Japanese authorities, $3,600 was paid to the missionaries toward the total loss of $17,500 worth of personal effects suffered by the several families affected. But not a cent was given to the Chinese professors. Now the missionaries have unanimously proposed to their home boards that the entire $3,600 shall be turned over to their Chinese associates, and this will, of course, be done. Only one who has visited in the homes of those affected can know in detail how generous is this openhearted gift out of the meagerness of a missionary stipend, and how much it means to the hard-pressed Chinese educators. But all can thank God and take courage when Christian brotherhood can transcend so unmistakably the limitations of self-interest and become thus truly the sharing of life.

'And So Fulfill the Law of Christ'

Is It an Election Crisis In the Far East?

HOW genuine is the crisis which seems suddenly to have blown up in the Far East? All Americans, except men having urgent business, have been "advised" by the state department to leave Japan, China, Hongkong, Indo-China, Manchuria, the Kwantung leased territory, Korea and Formosa at once. Is it true that relations between the United States and Japan have reached such a state of tension that war is likely to prove the only solution? The administration is making an extraordinary number of moves to convince the American public that this is so. It has mobilized all naval reserves; it has called Admiral Richardson home from the Pacific for secret consultations; it is rushing the purchase of 53 merchant vessels to use as fleet auxiliaries; the President informs the press that, in company with the admirals, he is "studying maps." Lord Lothian has added his bit to the atmosphere of tension by announcing that his government has ordered him to give up a contemplated trip to London to remain in Washington while the crisis is on. But great numbers of Americans will suspect that the situation in the Far East is being aggravated into an apparent crisis principally as a part of President Roosevelt's third term drive. From the start of the campaign there have been insistent rumors that the administration would rely on some sort of manufactured crisis, produced as election day neared, to make its reelection sure. Coming just now, this crisis—ostensibly precipitated by Japan's alliance with the axis and advance into Indo-China—is so politically timely that it is bound to be interpreted in many quarters as an election maneuver. Suspicion of this sort may be wholly unwarranted, but so is the idea that there is any necessity forcing the United States into war in the Far East.

Churchmen Support a Needless Starvation

STARVATION menaces thirty million people, including ten million children, in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France and central Poland this winter as a result of the British-German double blockade. Herbert Hoover and Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee believe that no good purpose can be served by this starvation of children and innocent and democratic people. To feed them they point out that we need not give a cent of money or a pound of food or send a single ship. All that is needed is to induce Washington to ask the governments of Great Britain and Germany to enter into an agreement with a neutral commission which could manage shipping, guarding and distributing the food. These

blockaded countries have enough money on deposit in this country and enough ships so that they could buy their own food and transport it. The Germans would have to agree that they would take none of the domestic produce of these people, that they would furnish an equivalent of food already taken, if any, that they would permit imports from eastern Europe, that they would allow free passage of food ships without attack and that they would permit adequate control of distribution by the neutral commission so that it could be certain that these guarantees were carried out. The British would be asked to agree that ships carrying cargoes solely of food for these people should be allowed to pass the blockade, the blockade to be closed again the moment the guarantees are violated. This method worked from 1914 to 1919 within the German-occupied territory of Belgium and northern France, and it succeeded in spite of the fact that toward the end of that time there was actual starvation within Germany. It should be tried now. Yet fifteen prominent Americans warn against doing anything to interfere with this starvation. Included among those who would keep the blockade food-tight are leading churchmen. We wonder how President Henry Sloane Coffin, Bishops Tucker and Scarlett, Robert E. Speer, Carrie Chapman Catt and Mary E. Woolley will look back on their pronouncement after the passion of war has died. Has any of them ever heard a starving child cry for a piece of bread?

Nicholas Murray Butler—Semper Idem

ALWAYS a champion of peace except when there is a war in the offing, President Nicholas Murray Butler recently served a warning on the faculty of Columbia University. After describing what the university is doing to cooperate with the government in "measures short of war," he pointed out that at Columbia "for those who are *in statu pupillari* the phrase academic freedom has no meaning whatsoever." In his view, that freedom is a luxury to be enjoyed only by faculty members, and to them it is to be rationed with Spartan severity. "Over and above academic freedom of any kind or sort comes university freedom," he said. University freedom turns out to be the liberty of the university president to get rid of faculty members who do not agree with his view that the Second World War is a "war between beasts and human beings." Although he hinted ominously of severer measures to come, as a man of peace Dr. Butler prefers of course that non-interventionist professors act as their own firing squad. "Those whose convictions are of such a character as to bring their conduct in open conflict with the university's freedom . . . should in ordinary self-respect withdraw from university membership. . . ." In other words, when the institution speaks, the individual must keep silent or get out. Hitler has a word for that doctrine. Dr. Butler distinguished himself in the 1917 battle for freedom by discharging Professors James McKeen Cattell and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, who saw then the truth about that war which came to be universally recognized a decade later. Charles A. Beard, dean of American historians, resigned at that time in protest against Dr. Butler's cavalier contempt for academic freedom. Now Dr. Harold Urey, Nobel prize physicist, heads a committee of eight distinguished members of the Columbia faculty who have addressed a letter to Dr. Butler asking him to clarify his threats. It appears that the lessons of the First World War have not been forgotten by all at Columbia, even though the aged Anglophile who heads that institution seems to be performing as of old.

Einstein Is Now An American

SOMETIMES one is tempted to think that it would be well if some ritual of naturalization could be practiced and that the conferring of citizenship might be done with some ceremony the dignity and impressiveness of which might fitly express the importance of the event. In particular cases, the personalities involved produce the effect without the ritual. When Professor Albert Einstein recently took the oath of allegiance in a Trenton courtroom and became an American citizen, it must have been an impressive moment. This event brings to a focus the thoughts that all intelligent Americans have often had since the reign of terror overseas began. Here is a man whom any sane society would consider an asset. He is a man of character and culture who would be a desirable citizen even if he had no other qualifications. But besides he is one of the foremost scientists in the world, perhaps at this time the most eminent of all living scientists. As a man of science he asked only for freedom to think and to investigate. As it happened, his investigations dealt chiefly with cosmic phenomena of the most abstruse sort, with light and motion and warped space. One might suppose that no political regime would consider itself endangered by such researches. But he is a Jew. There was no place for a Jewish mathematician in the country of his birth. The very brilliance of his mind and the fame of his attainments would be a constant embarrassment to his racial superiors! It would be awkward to have to keep saying, in the presence of one of the greatest thinkers of our time, that his race made him a little less than human. Professor Einstein has been an exile in recent years, but he is an exile no longer. He is at home—an American in America.

Catholicism Prepares Its Youth for War

YOUTH LEADERS might have studied with profit the sessions of the first Catholic Youth Congress which has just concluded its meetings in Chicago. They would have been struck by the sense of smooth-running, confident, purposeful power which marked its atmosphere. Labor leaders, a leading foreign correspondent, the vice-president of a large steel company, the chief of the foreign personnel of the state department, the president of Northwestern University and the mayor of Chicago spoke, and of course the Archbishop of Chicago and lesser luminaries of the Catholic hierarchy. The meeting discussed, sometimes with a fire and an independence that the priests who were placed in each commission as monitors had difficulty in controlling, such subjects as peace, labor problems, government and civil liberties. Those who guided the peace

commission seemed intent on preparing its members for participation in a war which was apparently regarded as imminent, and for a peace which was never admitted to be possible now, but only after war. The labor commission declared for the right of labor to organize and to receive a "just and living wage." The civil liberties committee approved the Bill of Rights, vowed to fight its enemies with "dissemination of Christian truths" and agreed to "abide by all restrictions placed on such groups by our duly constituted government." It also rendered doubtful service to civil liberties by agreeing in advance to the restriction of civil rights "in the event of a national emergency." Throughout the sessions the voice of the hierarchy, usually calm and assured, but if necessary strong and authoritative, spoke the final word. Although there was much about the meetings to command sincere admiration, the net impression left on one Protestant attendant was that the Catholic Church expects this country to go to war, that it anticipates totalitarian government here and that it is preparing its youth and its hierarchy so to conduct themselves that the Catholic Church will benefit from that state of affairs.

Chamberlain Passes From the Stage

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN will go down as a tragic failure, but it is not at all sure that history will ascribe his failure to the acts for which he is now berated. There is, to be sure, bitter irony in the remembrance of his "peace for our time" assurance following Munich. But Mr. Chamberlain's failure anteceded Munich; it even anteceded his assumption of the prime ministry. And it was only in a minor degree *his* failure; in reality, it was the failure of the ruling class of England, whose mind and outlook Mr. Chamberlain so faithfully mirrored. Seldom has the blind luck of politics been better illustrated than by the ascension of Neville Chamberlain to power. That he, the dull, plodding, nearly inarticulate party hack, should reach the coveted goal which his brilliant father and almost equally brilliant half-brother failed to win, is a reminder that in politics the race is often not to the swift. But that he should have come to power when he did was a piece of particularly bad luck for Britain—bad luck for which the British distrust of brilliance in office was largely responsible. Today, Chamberlain passes into retirement excoriated as the protagonist of "appeasement"—a word which has become a standard term of reproach. Especially is his betrayal of Czechoslovakia, which he spoke of during the Munich crisis as just a remote country "of which we know little," reckoned to his discredit. But history may conclude that it was too late to have saved Europe and the French and British empires from the Hitlerian fury at Munich; about ten years too late. It may see in Neville Chamberlain no villain but the victim of Tory policy throughout the whole period while the war was in the making. Tory policy, faced by the undeniable wrongs of the have-not nations, consisted in doing nothing to change the enraging status quo, and then when threatened with adjustments by force—as in Manchuria, Austria, Ethiopia, Spain—again doing nothing. It was that which made Munich "too little and too late," for by that time the dictators were convinced that they could get what they wanted by military pressure on torpid Tory governments, and in no other way. And it was that which brought Mr. Chamberlain in two swift years from the acclaim which greeted him on his return from Munich to the melancholy end of his career.

Why Was Conscription Demanded?

HOW LONG will it be before the nation wakes up to the fraud put over on it by the adoption of conscription? Conscription was forced through Congress on a plea of an immediate emergency. Newspapers thundered against every day's additional debate in the Senate and House. Secretary Stimson warned that England might collapse within thirty days. The army high command, which had previously said that the nation would be perfectly safe with an army of 375,000 men, suddenly discovered that it must have universal peacetime conscription, and have it at once. A considerable portion of Congress, alarmed at the effect on American institutions which will follow from this universal militarization, pleaded for a longer trial of the volunteer system. The size of the regular army was increased to 450,000; the President was empowered to mobilize the national guard and the reserves. By this means an army of approximately a million men was to be called into service almost immediately. If this still failed to provide sufficient national protection, why not try an intensive recruiting drive for volunteers? But no; volunteering would not do; conscription it must be—conscription now, quick, at once! So conscription it became. And now the army announces that, because of the strain on its facilities caused by mobilization of the national guard and reserves, and because volunteering is larger than at any previous time in its history (there were 5,000 more recruits in September than in May 1917, the previous record month), it will probably be able to take less than 100,000 of the 16,500,000 young men to be registered this week! In other words, it now develops that what the army wanted was not men but to fasten the *system* of conscription on American life. It was the effect on America, not on the dictators, that was primarily at stake when the hysterical campaign was whipped up which finally succeeded in stampeding Congress.

From Philip Sober to Philip Drunk

ELSEWHERE in this issue in an article dealing with the use of the movies to whip up war spirit Miss Margaret Frakes tells how Archibald MacLeish is warning the American people against what he calls "the falsifying aid of hindsight." It is a theme on which he has been ringing the changes ever since he discovered that the reason the draft-age generation is not enthusiastic about entering the present European war is because it has read too many books about the last one. It is interesting, however, to turn back from this MacLeish to the MacLeish of five years ago. That unterrified mimeographed weekly, *Uncensored,* makes it possible to do so by reprinting the answer which Mr. MacLeish gave to three questions asked

by the editors of the *Modern Monthly* in June 1935. The questions were: "1. What will you do when America goes to war? 2. Will your decision be altered if Soviet Russia is an ally of the United States in a war with Japan? 3. Would a prospective victory by Hitler over most of Europe move you to urge U. S. participation in opposition to Germany in order to prevent such a catastrophe?" Rightly pointing out that "the moment the *possibility* of a justifiable war is admitted the strongest position against war is vacated," Mr. MacLeish went on to say:

> It is very clear that the admission of this possibility implies that war is not the greatest of human evils but that there are evils worse than war. . . . But the danger of an anti-war program built upon that admission, historically sound though it may be, is nevertheless obvious. For it is precisely those deepest human emotions to which the propaganda machine always addresses itself in time of war, of *any* war. The last war against Germany was fought, you will recall, to make the world safe for democracy. The next war against Germany might very well be fought, as your third question suggests, to make the world safe against nazism. With war in the offing the realistic and skeptical journal is not read; the newspapers echo the common cry; the propaganda machinery whirls up the dust of its own choosing. If enough people believe that a certain type of war might be justifiable then the war department will see that they get that kind of war—in print. The kind of war they have gotten in fact they will discover for themselves some years afterwards. The consequence is that my answers to your second and third questions would be No. And that I should answer your first question as follows: I should do everything in my power to prevent the United States going to war under *any* circumstances. There is only one possible position against the menace of militarism: absolute hostility. Any other is romantic. Any other supplies the forces desiring war with the means of securing it.

But the time when Archibald MacLeish was talking that way was five years ago. Today, a salaried officer of the United States government, he speaks of "the falsifying aid of hindsight."

Peace Without Victory, Mr. Wells?

IT TAKES more than the Battle of Britain to stop the autumnal migration of English lecturers to America. One of the latest to arrive is H. G. Wells, who varied the usual "release" to ship reporters by complaining on arrival that Britain is badly divided in its attitude toward the war, with the "half-hearted property owners" on one side. He did not say who was on the other, but pointed out that "house property is being knocked about a lot" and that "people overrate these things." We dare say they do, but after all, those houses are homes as well as "property." He said that he had come over with the permission of the foreign secretary, but that he nevertheless intended to criticize that official. This he proceeded to do in self-contradictory fashion, in one breath calling Lord Halifax an "appeaser" and in the next saying that he "will make peace difficult because he will have a religious bias against Russia." Such comment, we suppose, is intended as an example of the working of what is called democracy; indeed, lest we miss the point, Mr. Wells said as much. True to formula, he said that he hoped that America would not enter the war, but added an original touch when he gave as a reason that entry would give us a stake in the peace treaty. "If you come in, your party politics would swamp the settlement." With the well known prejudices of Americans against empire, that would probably be embarrassing. He declined to tell reporters where he would be staying in New York, but one of them learned that his baggage was sent to the home of Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan partner. Just before he ended the interview he said that he thought that Germany would lose the war but that Britain would probably not win. If we attend one of Mr. Wells' lectures and there is opportunity for questions, we expect to ask him why this prospect does not constitute a good reason for another "peace without victory" proposal right now.

No Third Term!

IT IS not required, nor is it generally expected, that a journal of religion shall announce an editorial decision in a political contest. Nevertheless, The Christian Century, in the exercise of its self-chosen function of examining and freely expressing its opinion upon events, issues and trends in the national and world community, as well as in the churchly sphere, desires to indicate to its readers the decision it has reached on the present political issues. We do this in the same spirit in which we are accustomed to comment upon other matters. Our point of view is, we believe, entirely independent of party prejudice. Eight years ago, this paper cast its vote for Mr. Hoover, four years ago for Mr. Roosevelt. In neither case was our decision motivated by partisan considerations. The issues, as we weighed them, were more complicated in 1932, making the decision more difficult than in 1936.

In 1940, the issues again present themselves in such a form that a heart-whole decision is impossible. Neither of the two effective candidates represents the full circle of our convictions. Like all citizens, except those blindly devoted to their party, we are confronted with the necessity of choosing between black and white on one side and white and black on the other.

I

But there is one issue which stands paramount, as we view the scene. This is the issue of the third term. Our appraisal of its importance does not rest upon the venerable tradition that a president shall hold office no more than two terms, though the wisdom of the fathers has weight. Nor is it a matter of abstract principle, though a principle is clearly involved. We are opposed to a third term for any president, because the very fact that he covets it, and that he has a fighting chance to win it, implies the presence of the precise conditions which make a third term dangerous for the country. It is the presence of these conditions which determines our appraisal of this issue as the preeminent one in the campaign of 1940. Because the question of a third term for Mr. Roosevelt is the decisive issue, our decision must, unfortunately, be stated in negative form. We believe that Mr. Roosevelt's ambition for a third term should be defeated. To aid in accomplishing this we cast our editorial vote for Wendell Willkie.

It is doubtful whether a political campaign has been

fought since 1860 and 1864 in which the people have had to face questions of such magnitude as those with which they are confronted in this campaign. Since the Civil War all the problems upon which national elections have turned were problems arising within the framework of an accepted order of life, an accepted form of government and a generally accepted idea of national destiny. What distinguishes the present campaign is the fact that the electorate is now called upon to answer questions which lie quite outside this framework, questions which involve explicit proposals and actual trends toward a change in our traditional way of life, our form of government and our national destiny. Of these questions, the crucial test is whether the third term barrier shall be removed.

The third term is a domestic issue. It arises primarily and essentially out of domestic conditions. That it has been cast in the form of an international emergency is shrewd political strategy. The United States faces grave problems in relation to the European war and the developments in the Far East, and these problems are relevant in this campaign. We shall discuss them in next week's issue. But the attempt to tie the demand for a third term to the international situation only diverts attention from the serious national realities which the third term issue involves.

The traditional barrier against more than two terms for any president reflects the instinctive opposition of American democracy to fascism. True, the great presidents who resisted this temptation and the statesmen who from the beginning of our history have confirmed their wisdom and patriotism, did not know the word "fascism." But they knew the thing, and set up this barrier against it. They called it monarchy or absolutism or dictatorship, and feared it. For protection against it they trusted the patriotic honor of the men whom the democracy would in all future time choose as its leaders. The first president left a shining example of this honorable self-restraint, an example which has been confirmed by his successors.

The essence of fascism is one-party government. Essential to a democracy is a two-party system. The limitation on the president's tenure of office is designed to prevent a coalescence of self-interested blocs in a single party in such strength as to crush opposition into impotence. The political situation in America is now, for the first time in our national history, favorable to the consolidation of interested groups into a one-party system.

Political parties are not primarily composed of disinterested patriots. Their strength lies in the special interests which they can fuse into one organization. These interests may be legitimate, and in large part are so. But they may also be predatory. The cohesive cement of party organization is patronage and office holding. Underneath the ideology of a political party, its philosophy and slogans, there exists this substratum of selfish interest which party success will gratify. It is not cynical to recognize this. Democracy has found no way by which to conduct its affairs on a plane from which narrow selfish interest is excluded. But it has provided in the no-third-term tradition a device which tends to keep this baser element of our human nature from gaining perpetual control of the government through consolidation in a single party.

We repeat, the essence of fascism is a one-party government. And the strength of this system is the indispensable leader or führer. When the führer goes—by death or otherwise—the unity of the party may be broken by strife among those who aspire to his position. American tradition has decreed that if and when a one-party system threatens our democratic society, *the leader shall automatically go,* thus weakening the unnatural unity of the party, and opening the way for the redistribution of its elements. Progress and national well-being in a democracy are impossible if a single party gains unchallengeable control of the sources of political power. Such a party tends to become itself the state, and its indispensable head inevitably becomes the dictator.

II

The movement of the political forces throughout Mr. Roosevelt's regime has been steadily in the direction of consolidation in a one-party system. Some of the factors cooperating to create such an order have been political, some economic. Of the political, the most determinative has been the simple fact that Mr. Roosevelt carried the country at two elections with such sweeping landslides that his party captured nearly all the offices, not only of the federal government, but of state, county and city governments as well. The opposition party was practically annihilated. It had no patronage to dispense, and but few officeholders whose loyalty to the party would be reinforced by the private necessity of keeping their jobs.

There is no suggestion here that Mr. Roosevelt or his party carries any blame for this unprecedented flow of political power into a single party reservoir. But in facing the present situation the voter must take this condition into account as an objective fact, and ask whether it is a wholesome condition, and whether the best interests of the nation will be served by its continuation. The test of the voter's judgment on this condition lies in his attitude to the third term. If Mr. Roosevelt breaks through the third term barrier, he will break through the only inhibition which our system of government recognizes as a check against the one-party system which spells fascism and totalitarianism.

The marvelous good fortune which threw the vast mechanism of political patronage into the control of Mr. Roosevelt and his party is not the only asset which is being capitalized for the lodging of the full power of government in a single party. Added to the hundreds of thousands of party henchmen on the payroll of federal, state, county and city governments, the policies of the administration have cultivated great voting blocs of the population by a form of economic patronage. Upon these blocs the President confidently depends for success in his defiance of the traditional limitation of the presidential term. We cannot discuss these policies and their present political effects without paying tribute to the achievements of the New Deal.

It was because Mr. Roosevelt in his first term made certain positive gains and seemed to promise further advances in reforming the system of our domestic economy, that we gave our editorial support to him in 1936. By the social legislation which he sponsored, Mr. Roosevelt's first term established the principle of social responsibility for the victims of an economic order whose evils society is either unwilling or unable to cure. It is not necessary

to recall this legislation in detail. Most of it is of permanent value. The rest of it consists of artificial measures justifiable only on the assumption that they are temporary, pending a radical reform of the economic system which would make these measures unnecessary.

It is this temporizing legislation which now plays into the hands of the President as the chief agent in the consolidating of power in a single party. It consists of special benefits conferred upon particular economic blocs—the organized workers, the farmers and the unemployed. The complaint that the New Deal has done nothing for industry—except to curtail and alarm it—is true, but not altogether reasonable. Industry has been for a century and more the favored object of federal legislation. "Protected" by tariffs and grants of many kinds it acquired a central and essentially false position in our national economy. The presumption had become established that national prosperity depended directly upon the prosperity of industry. Previous depressions were generally explained as the result of the overstimulation of industry, but they could be cured by two or three years of "hard times," accompanied by the curtailment of production. It was always assumed that industry would then start up again and general recovery would set in.

III

The depression of the past decade exposed the fallacy of this theory and brought the nation face to face with the fact that the interests of other economic blocs were no less central and basic to the general welfare than were the interests of capitalistic enterprise. In particular these blocs are the farmers and the employed workers in industry. Mr. Roosevelt grasped this situation in his first term as president. He offered, however, no comprehensive economic solution of the conflict of interest among agriculture, labor and industry. What he offered was a temporary appeasement of the disparity by special legislation in the interest of labor and agriculture. To the millions of unemployed workers he gave a dole in the form of direct relief or work on government projects; to the farmer he gave a dole in the form of compensation for "soil conservation." To organized labor he gave the legalization of the right of collective bargaining, a minimum wage and maximum working hours. (This might be called a "paper" dole, for it is a theoretical benefit whose substance depends upon the existence of a wholesome and general prosperity. The aggressive exercise of this "right" under conditions of depression only aggravates the depression, injuring not only the community but labor itself.)

These measures were not only legitimate, but necessary. They have saved our national economy from chaos and perhaps from revolution. But their legitimacy cannot be taken as a solution of our economic problem. As temporary measures to mitigate the suffering of the victims of an unworkable system and to hold back violent discontent, they have been salutary. But as a contribution to permanent national well-being they are nil.

Of Mr. Roosevelt's administration it must be said that he has done nothing to redress the deep-lying disparity of interest which obtains between agriculture, industry and labor. The American people had every right to expect that, having brought about temporary appeasement in his first term, the President would proceed in his second to attack the permanent problem which cannot long be stifled by a dole system. This he has not done. Instead, both Mr. Roosevelt and the authoritative spokesmen for his administration are assiduously engaged in creating the illusion that the temporary and artificial measures adopted are a genuine advance toward prosperity. The keynote of the present campaign is one of congratulation to the farmers on the ample checks they are receiving from Washington for not cultivating all their land, to the unemployed on the generous provision of the government which keeps them alive without work or creates special work by which they may be on the government payroll, and to organized labor on the legalization of its right to bargain collectively and to receive more theoretical pay for less theoretical work.

It is apparent that Mr. Roosevelt, in his first term, exhausted his constructive resources for solving the problem of *national* prosperity. Ten million unemployed are the measure of this failure. He has not justified the country's expectation that his second term would mark a substantial contribution toward the coordination of the three fundamental producing blocs in a working system whose effects would be the prosperity of each group and thus the prosperity of the whole people. Instead, he approaches the end of this term with no greater hope for the ten million unemployed than that they may find places either in a conscript army or in a booming armaments industry.

In addition to all this, the administration gives every evidence that it regards the temporary measures adopted during its first term as permanent. Mr. Roosevelt has indicated that the nation would do well to assume that, aside from the temporary lift of an armaments boom, a large body of unemployment is to be a permanent feature of our economic life. As a corollary it may be assumed that he regards an inadequate farm income as a permanent feature of our economic life. The dole for the farmer and the dole for the unemployed would therefore be continued as a permanent function of government. No American citizen, no farmer, no self-respecting worker, once he has become aware of the realities of such a prospect, can contemplate it without dismay and resentment. Acceptance of doles is tolerable only as a temporary device while the fundamental condition which makes doles necessary is being reformed. To abandon the task of reform and reconstruction, and to fall back upon the temporary expedients of compensatory doles is a confession of defeat.

We believe that Mr. Roosevelt has in mind no solution of our economic predicament. His second term has been economically sterile. He offers no hope and makes no promise of doing more in a third term than in his second.

IV

When we turn to Mr. Willkie, we find that he accepts the essential features of the New Deal—those features which fall into the category of permanent social legislation and those which belong in the category of temporary appeasement—but with a difference. Mr. Willkie's two slogan words are "production" and "jobs." He promises to start production and thus provide jobs for workers. His promise on this score would be more convincing if it were not for the fact that the depression itself came upon the coun-

try under the administration of the party whose general point of view he represents. It would be still more convincing if, despite the record of his party, Mr. Willkie were able to implement his promise of increased production and multiplied jobs with concrete proposals. To do this it would be necessary to offer some economic proposal for breaking the deadlock which obtains between agriculture, industry and labor.

But there are two respects in which his candidacy appeals to the independent voter who is disillusioned as to Mr. Roosevelt's competence and purpose in relation to the nation's economic predicament. One is the fact that Mr. Willkie, while accepting the temporary expedients of the New Deal, recognizes them for what they are, namely, temporary expedients, not permanent additions to our national economy. He sees their artificiality. He senses the element of insult to the self-respect of farmer and unemployed worker which is implied in the giving of doles instead of justice. He discerns the corrupting moral effects not only upon the recipients of these doles, but upon the rest of the community whose taxes provide them. Mr. Willkie knows, as every intelligent American must know, that an economy cannot endure on the basis of charity extended to a part of the community by the rest of the community. The whole system is a falsification of the robust self-respect of the American character.

Mr. Willkie, therefore, promises to find a fundamental solution of our economic predicament which will abolish these temporary features of which the New Deal is so shamelessly proud. He *promises*. Whether he can fulfill his promise no one knows. But we prefer as president a man who sees the realities of our predicament clearly enough to promise that he will *try* to save us rather than one who cavalierly pretends that we are already saved.

If Mr. Willkie has no solution which he is willing to thrust into the campaign for debate, it is something, at least, that the problem is clearly defined in his mind and the task fully recognized. His proposal, if elected, to call a White House conference of representatives of industry, agriculture, labor and the consumer, and set them at work to find, if possible, a way of adjusting and coordinating these economic groups so that their group interests may function for the well-being of the whole national life—this proposal is a pledge which even one who is a pessimist as to the outcome must applaud.

V

But Mr. Roosevelt's course in relation to the domestic situation is not fully described by directing attention to his manifest willingness to represent these temporary expedients as permanent additions to our national economy. The rest of the description requires that attention be directed to his party's capitalization of these expedients as political assets in his campaign for a third term. It is generally conceded that the strength of Mr. Roosevelt in the present campaign to break the anti-third term tradition lies chiefly in his control of large blocs of voters. So large are they and so firmly bound to him by class patronage that their combined strength threatens to displace our two-party system by a one-party system.

Developments of the past eight years have thrown into Mr. Roosevelt's lap the "makings" of a one-party system, and he has yielded to the temptation to fuse them and make himself the head of a one-party government. Add up these "makings" of an American fascism: (1) The vast political machine. (2) The solid south. (3) The economic blocs grateful for his special legislation—and his alms—the unemployed, the farmer, organized labor. (4) Peacetime conscription. (5) A national emergency, partly inevitable, partly shaped to political ends, and (6) the doctrine of the indispensable leader, and you have a road to fascism paved even more smoothly than the road by which Mussolini and Hitler came to power.

The crucial test of the fruition of this coalescence of political and economic factors in a fascist one-party system comes at the barrier of the third term. Were Mr. Roosevelt now asking a second term, all these elements could be present, including even the doctrine of the indispensable man, and the threat of fascism would be negligible. But if the third term barrier gives way, the last obstacle to the achievement of a one-party system will disappear, and the possibility of creating a formidable opposition party will vanish for a long time to come. If this barrier can be broken through, it will be easy to manage future elections after the pattern set by the one-party governments of Mussolini and Hitler. This we believe is the paramount issue which the American people are facing. And upon it The Christian Century makes its decision to oppose the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt by giving its support to Wendell Willkie.

Bach

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A great artist and critic once said that Bach almost persuades him to be a Christian. But why "almost"? I can imagine easily the case of a man whom Bach entirely persuaded to be a Christian. He is, and will remain, through all the changing moods of human thought an interpreter in whose house are many wonderful things. But do you agree that the Christian church often makes the least use of its best expositors? Do we let Bach interpret for us as he might?

Albert Schweitzer once said that no man can ever read the gospel again in the same way after he has heard the "Passion According to St. Matthew." I can give my own assent to that judgment. I have heard that music many times and never without some new light upon the divine story. When I hear in the holy communion certain words, they go always to an undertone of this music which is more than an accompaniment. "I therefore say to you, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine till I drink it new with you in my heavenly Father's realm." These words in all their calmness and majesty, in their foreboding and triumph, go with the music of Bach to interpret them. Somehow that cantor of Leipzig had entered into the secret of the Lord Jesus. It was not in vain that he put on the score sometimes "J. J."—"Jesu, juva" (Jesus, help me).

Why do we not use in our worship more of this passion music and the large number of cantatas which the master prepared for church worship? I heard a service not long

ago which was opened when a clear and thrilling voice broke the silence with one of the recitatives from the "Passion According to St. Matthew." And why do we not hear more of the cantatas—not for the sake of musicians, among whom I have no place, but for the sake of the common man who has "a life in Christ to live, a death in Christ to die"? Why should he have to listen to hosts of interpreters and not hear this man who had penetrated so deeply and learned something of the secret which all men must know?

If I had to lecture on the creed—an unlikely supposition—I should provide myself with a victrola and some records of the "Mass in B Minor." I know that these would throw more light on the mystery than the best exposition that I could give. Once when I was leaving a hall in which this music had been given I met a ministerial friend, a man of remarkable culture and grace of spirit. "I never understood the creed so well as I have done tonight," he said. I believe that he was right, and others might enter into the same experience. I do not mean, of course, that the music by itself could teach us the meaning of the Incarnation, but it adds to the intellectual interpretation something more that gives fire to it. We can hear a little of the things which the saints did their best to put into words and failed with a magnificent failure, for the thing is impossible.

And if I were discoursing on the song which the morning stars sang together, I should certainly cause to be heard the "Sanctus" from that same Mass. That and William Blake's "Invention" would provide all that was needed.

This music is not for the learned and the cultured only. Those who say so are sometimes misled by their own prejudices. Too many of us settle down at one time in life to a certain range of music and calmly assume that what is good for us must be good for others. What we call hard—largely because we have not taken it seriously—must be hard for them. I have no direct information upon the matter but I have no doubt that when Schweitzer plays Bach to his African friends on the edge of the equatorial forest they listen to it eagerly and with genuine responsiveness.

I have been many times one of thousands of hearers gathered to hear the passion music. Once I heard it in the Catholic cathedral in New York, in which I sat among many poor folk who heard the gospel gladly. There is something in this interpreter which goes to the heart of every man. On the wings of his music, it may be, the Lord himself steps out of the Book and is once more in the midst of us.

I repeat: why do we not use more seriously this great evangelist?

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Song for Youth

THE waiting days are over,
The day of dreams is dead;
The lover and the rover
Have given place, have fled.

The world needs iron and clover,
The world needs cloth and bread;
The waiting days are over,
The hard road lies ahead!

GEORGE EDWARD HOFFMAN.

For Trees in a Wood

I WONDER if you notice us as we
Move slowly on, too conscious that you rise
Far, far above our pygmy company
To talk, talk privately to open skies.

Just as we tower over other things,
Fleet-footed to the flower, to the rock,
You wait, you harbor winds beneath your wings,
Unknowing gossip, honor and the clock.

You thrive on patience: nervous, nerveless hours
You do not reckon in your broadened span;
You leave the way of red war-madness ours:
Battles for baubles you resign to man.

GEORGE EDWARD HOFFMAN.

After the Holocaust

THE crows shall wrangle, though the towns be ash,
Piercing the summer dawn with shrill-voiced feuds.
And where the volcanic guns no longer flash,
The bats shall circle when the late dusk broods.

Still through the waves the slit-mouthed shark will slide,
And on the rocks the lizard bask and flit,
And smoothly down the air the vulture ride,
And drunk moths flutter when the moon is lit.

Still midget shapes, amid the dank leaf-mold,
Will scramble blindly; ants will dig their nests,
The keen bee spiral for her honey-gold,
And locusts hop in valley-shearing quests.

Still life will crawl and fly and rasp and hum
On the broad hills, wherever a leaf is green.
And who will question why one voice is dumb
And one proud figure is no longer seen?

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

The Truth

YOU can fling him down before the trampling horde,
You can crucify him, mock him and despise,
You can cower behind your grim official sword,
Pilate, but you cannot look him in the eyes.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Toward a New Order in Europe

*A Geneva Dialogue**

By Denzil G. M. Patrick

"NO," said the young Swiss journalist, "I don't think Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin or plutocracy are the strongest forces challenging democracy today. There is an obvious change of psychology in Europe now, and people elsewhere are putting it all down to fear and calling it submission to a spiritual hegemony; but it has deeper roots than that."

"I quite agree," said the exiled Russian. "The fact that I have had to live in exile ever since the Russian revolution has made me specially sensitive to the changes of spiritual climate in Europe, and I know that many people saw the future in other than democratic terms even before the present complete collapse of faith in liberal democracy."

"Do you mean to say," asked the Scotsman, "that faith in democracy has completely collapsed in Europe? Is that just because you think Britain foredoomed to defeat in the present struggle?"

Russian and *Swiss* (together): No, no, that's not the main reason.

Scot: You know that there is a tremendous revival of faith in democracy in America. Not only do people quote phrases like "man's inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and "government of the people, for the people, by the people," but they are working hard to develop what they call "the democratic way of life," and they firmly believe that cooperative thought and action by groups of men and women of good will is in the long run the most effective method of producing a just and stable order of society.

Swiss: I'm afraid that's all been very seriously undermined in Europe—even in my country, with its long democratic tradition. You see, most continental democracies have had France rather than Britain or America as their spiritual home, and now that they have seen French democracy morally and politically dishonored and discredited, it would take more than fine phrases from outside Europe to revive their shaken faith.

I

Scot: Do you think people in Europe see the difference between the two types of democracy we're discussing?

Swiss: What exactly do you mean?

Scot: I mean the difference between a democracy which is based, like the French, on a determinedly secular rationalist conception of man and his civil liberties, with *laïcisme* and anti-clericalism among its main dogmas, and a democracy which springs from a Christian humanist tradition, like both the British and the American, in their somewhat different ways.

Swiss: I'm not sure that they do see all that. What they are beginning to realize with a kind of horror is the negative side of French democracy, and so they are looking for a more stable basis for their own national life in a new traditionalism. The young Christians I know are now strong traditionalists.

Scot: Traditionalism is a big word, in more senses than one.

Swiss: Probably the best way of explaining what we mean is to say that we are looking toward a more organic kind of social order, with something like a corporative structure and a functional aristocracy with considerable authority.

Russian: Yes, people are tired of the much-vaunted abstract ideal of liberty which has apparently ended in irresponsible license for some and a dull, monotonous existence for many. They believe that they may find more real freedom for self-expression within a much more authoritarian order of society.

Scot: Do *you* believe that?

Russian: Yes. In the "bad old days" of the tsarist regime, I saw many people who found fully satisfying opportunities for self-expression, within certain somewhat narrow limits, even though the political system was cast-iron and civil liberties did not exist. Good illustrations of this are the high development of music and mathematics, the least political of the arts and sciences, in that period of Russian history, and the renascence of these same activities in the new Russia! And of course an earlier striking example is the work of the medieval craftsmen in the great Gothic cathedrals.

II

Scot: Well, I must say that this all sounds rather like the "strong wine of nazism watered down with Vichy" of which the British wireless recently spoke with regard to developments in France.

Swiss: No, no, no; that's a very superficial judgment, if you don't mind my saying so. Currents in the direction we are trying to describe existed long before Hitler's threat. I know the minds of our Christian youth leaders, and I know that they have long felt the need for some revival of our national life on the basis of its own deeper traditions. I think it is an extremely important point to note that the Christian forces of our country, both Protestant and Catholic, feel that they may have much more chance of playing a really effective part in national life in a new order than they have had in our liberal democratic order, which has been determinedly secular in tone.

Scot: I suppose that's really the great tragedy of democracy in Europe, and the deepest reason for its present eclipse. . . . To be quite frank with you, I have sometimes had my own doubts about the divine right of democracy.

Russian: That's very interesting. What sort of doubts?

Scot: Oh well, democracy so often seems to result in a kind of apotheosis of mediocrity. "What the public

*This dialogue is based on actual conversations which have recently taken place in Geneva, and faithfully reflects a significant trend of Christian thinking in Europe today.

wants" becomes the standard in more ways than one; and you know what cultural and spiritual level that produces. And then the theory of democracy is sometimes expressed in a way which implies assent to the dogma that "the voice of the people is the voice of God"; and even if I won't go so far as to say that "majorities are always wrong," I will say that they are frequently mistaken—and even that they may be mistaken when I agree with them! At any rate, I am sure we need a Christian critique of democracy. In that critique, use should be made of sound insights from outside Christianity, such as those in the eighth book of Plato's *Republic,* which are remarkably suggestive in relation to modern issues.

III

Swiss: Does that mean surrendering all faith in democracy?

Scot: Not at all. Democracy has given us too many precious gifts for us to throw it overboard so easily as that. If we have a Christian critique, we can also have a Christian affirmation of democracy. What I am pleading for is a new balance. I am attracted by the picture of a more organic social order with a carefully selected functional aristocracy and a greater sense of civic responsibility.

Russian: There's not much chance for a balanced policy in Europe today.

Scot: That's one of the worst tragedies of the whole business—not only for Europe but also for America, not only for the nations but also for Christians and churches. There's going to be a much bigger gulf to bridge after all this; it will be much harder for people in different groups to understand one another.

Swiss: It may not be too bad if Christian forces can play their full part in creating and guiding this new order —an order which will come whatever the issue of the present conflict. If they get a chance to do so, they can keep the new order from becoming impersonal and mechanical. It is true that the defeat of neo-paganism and atheism doesn't solve the problem; but that defeat may enable a new order to be built which can be given a positive and constructive interpretation to those who still find democracy their most inspiring way of life.

IV

Dutchman: I have listened to this discussion with the greatest interest, but I am deeply disturbed by two things about it. The first is that, although the word "tragedy" has been used once or twice, you have not shown a fully realistic sense of the revolutionary depth of the present European tragedy. It is too facile to talk about Christianity creating and guiding the new order in Europe. Overwhelming anti-Christian forces, which have their own ideas about what the new order is to be, stand in the way of any such Christian activity. The Christian church in Europe is fighting for its life, and must put first things first if it is to survive; evangelism and a renewal of spiritual life must come first, and *then* the church will be ready for any Christianization of the social order which may be possible after the war.

Scot: I quite agree that we mustn't beg the question of the conditions in which our hopes may be realizable. We all see that victory for the side with which my country is at war would mean, among other things, a spiritual catastrophe of the first magnitude, not only for Europe but also for the rest of the world. I cannot, for instance, think without a shudder of the effect of such a victory on the whole Christian missionary enterprise. At the same time, we must begin now to look forward to the future as it will be if this spiritual catastrophe is avoided, and make provisional plans for the kind of reconstruction that may save the soul of Europe. I think it is very significant that our friends here envisage such a radical modification of liberal democracy in the new order for which they hope; and I for my part hope that people in the democratic countries will have eyes to see the positive and constructive side of what they are trying to outline.

Dutchman: That helps me with my first difficulty. But my second one remains. It is the fact that the Roman Catholic Church holds most of the trumps when it comes to constructing corporative, traditionalist social orders of an authoritarian type. The key positions, or many of them, are already occupied by Roman Catholics. I do not think Protestantism would get much of a chance to express its distinctive genius in the building of the kind of order you people have been sketching.

Swiss: I still have faith in the federal tradition of my country so far as that difficulty is concerned. As I see things, the Protestant and the Catholic cantons would have freedom to express the principles of the new order according to their specific characteristics and traditions. There would be no centralization of a kind which would stifle originality and produce a forced conformity and uniformity. The last few years of European history have reminded us sufficiently of the dangers of an excessive authoritarianism.

Scot: This objection is a very fundamental one, and we must remain aware of it in all our further thinking. I am inclined to think, however, that we lose a great deal of energy in our suspicions and fears of Rome which we might more profitably employ in developing convictions and proposals of our own which are fit to stand the test of comparison and controversy. It is only if Protestantism has something positive and statesmanlike of its own to contribute that it will win its right to have a determinative voice in shaping the new order in Europe. And it is just because our Swiss Protestant friend is trying to work out a constructive contribution to meet a situation where the magic word "democracy" closes doors instead of opening them that I feel sure his concerns deserve sympathetic understanding and consideration on both sides of the Atlantic.

Before a Statue

SEE where the steel beneath the sculptor's hand
Left in the granite's might its searing trace,
Shaping a dream that men could understand
Yet showing still the chisel's urgent pace.

Eternal granite fashioned in a dream?
Nay, in love's touch the holiest mysteries are,
Shaping a soul to an immortal theme,
Needing no chisel's thrust, leaving no scar!

ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH.

Time Marches Back

By Margaret Frakes

"HISTORIANS who write *now* about what happened *then* can never show the past as past. They write . . . with the falsifying aid of hindsight." This is the warning which Archibald MacLeish, librarian of Congress and Pulitzer prize winner, addresses to the American people in a two-page advertisement in a recent issue of *Life,* his purpose being to promote the March of Time's feature-length movie, "The Ramparts We Watch."

The gentlemen of the March of Time, it seems, are concerned about what you and I think about the First World War. They know that for years we have been subjected to what they see as the "propaganda" of the historians. We have been, as Mr. MacLeish says, "looking at the First World War in the perspective of the historian's hindsight." Doing so, we have discovered a number of what they consider to be untruths. We have come to believe, for instance, that perhaps something other than the rapaciousness of a people led by a cruel old man bent on world domination was the cause of that war. We have been led to suspect that some of the atrocity stories were, to put it mildly, exaggerated. We have found traces of British propaganda. We have even begun to bring to light signs of something that looks strangely like self-interest on the part of American bankers and manufacturers and producers of raw materials.

So the March of Time has set out to correct that hindsight, to take us back to the days of the First World War, to show us how it *really* was.

Propaganda for a New War

"The Ramparts We Watch" shows an American community from 1914 through the war years. Everyday people in New London, Connecticut, act the story of what the editors choose to tell us happened in those years. At first, the war is far away. But gradually—much too gradually, the film hints—the people begin to wake up. The ruthless Germans violate Belgium. Boys go across to help France and Britain stem the forces of evil and some of them are killed. Unrestrained submarine warfare begins. The Lusitania is sunk. People begin to get excited. The film lets us, indeed, hear one pacifist song—but it is sung in a restaurant haunted by beer-drinking German-Americans. All this time, the government and business are strangely apathetic. Then our ships are told where they can and cannot go. Now we really get angry. Imagine telling an American what he can do! So we—the common people—force the issue, and our leaders are compelled to let us have our way. We go out to fight for our rights and for democracy. (Not as quickly, of course, as we should have, since we were, then as now, blind and trusting and therefore unprepared, and so it took us too long to get going.) But anyway, we finally arrive in France. And we save freedom for the world.

But we weren't courageous enough. We let historians falsify what we had done and find other motives for events. Now, our precious liberty is threatened again. And the March of Time, fearful lest now we permit our thinking to be colored by what we have learned in these twenty years about the motives and the currents behind that war, takes us back and lets us feel the emotions of those years—deliberately ignoring what has been learned since, cheerfully indicating that now is the time to act in just the same manner again, to go out in moral indignation to fight against a similar evil rampant again in the world.

Truth Takes a Holiday

As Pare Lorentz, himself a maker of documentary films and movie critic for *McCalls,* points out, "The Ramparts We Watch" errs for the most part in omission. There is nothing, he notes, of the "extraordinary propaganda campaign" which preceded our declaration of war, of the bumper cotton crop of 1914 which had so much to do with the determination to protect our exports, of Colonel House, of the senior La Follette. There is no mention, in the concluding sections which deal with the rise of the present crisis, of the Chamberlain government, of the war in Spain, of the things our foreign correspondents have been telling us for years, of the currents at work behind the European scene. We are to be induced to believe simply that, as he interprets it, we "were patient and forbearing until the Germans became so arrogant we couldn't stand it any longer" and that now we "are faced with a necessity of preparing to go to war again." The result of such omission, it follows, is that truth takes a holiday.

The closing sequences of this film now consist of the German movie, "The Baptism of Fire," which shows how total warfare is practiced by the German army, particularly as it entered Poland. This is obvious propaganda, designed to convince prospective enemies of the might of the German forces. Inserted in "The Ramparts We Watch" with appropriate comments written by the American producers it serves the purpose which they have in mind, which is to convince the American people that the German menace threatens today even more than in 1917, and that our only recourse is to plunge into a gigantic armament program to get ready for battle with our future foes.

Fast Work with the Censor

Incidentally, the March of Time's method of acquiring the German film raises a fine point. The editors had sought to acquire title from UFA, the German distributing company, which had refused unless the sound track accompanying the film should be left intact. Finally, however, a print of the film was seized as contraband by British authorities in Bermuda as it came in by clipper plane. It was seized in order to keep it from reaching the American public as German propaganda. But as soon as the British authorities were assured that Mr. Luce's bright young men would so doctor up the sound track as to make it good British propaganda, it was turned over to the

March of Time, which proceeded to fit in a new sound track, with thinly veiled taunts and insults by a German-accented commentator. As the film is shown, there is nothing to indicate that this commentary has been substituted for the original, nor to indicate that it is being presented to American audiences by arrangement with the British censor.

Is It for Defense?

All this, we are led to understand, is for "the defense of this democracy." One wonders, however, while watching the monthly March of Time shorts on the screen, whether it is for defense alone that the editors of this most widely promoted newsreel are waging preparedness. "Gateways to Panama," the most recent release, plays up danger spots in South America such as the French penal colony in Guiana. In addition to pointing out the defense value of the newly acquired air and navy bases in the Caribbean, it manages to suggest that our policing powers over the northern coast of South America could be much increased.

"Spoils of Conquest," the preceding release, features the Dutch East Indies, emphasizing the importance to the axis powers—and to us in case of war—of their vast wealth. It shows the Dutch colonists making almost a heaven on earth for the natives. (There is no comment on it, but almost every shot of an industrial scene shows native *children* at work.) Then Japan is shown eyeing the wealth of the islands, and the commentator's tone grows menacing. It trembles as the home-loving Dutch are pictured preparing their puny defenses, and it rings out a challenge as a fleet is shown, the fleet to which these people look with anxious, hopeful eyes—the United States fleet at anchor in the Philippines. Charts outside theaters showing this release explain how that fleet could checkmate Japan's moves in eastern waters. Considerably more than propaganda for defense alone, this would seem.

As They Are Trained

The release on the Philippines shows the islands coming to regret the approaching withdrawal of American protection, fearful lest Japan seize their wealth—a thing which, the film suggests, we should never allow to come to pass. One wonders even more whether it is actually defense in which this newsreel is interested when one views the release on the United States navy, which ends with views of the marines, fully equipped, embarking to be "trained to fight," the commentator tells us in ringing tones, "as they have always been trained to fight, *offensive war.*"

There will be other releases in the preparedness series, no doubt. One can safely predict from these which have already been released the course they will take. The March of Time, being partly staged and acted out for the camera and accompanied by a commentary like the voice of doom itself, is more dangerous than the regular newsreels, which so far have been for the most part straightforward presentations of events. Of course, the other reels show a superabundance of war material. But in the current state of the world, this is to be expected. Recently a Chicagoan, just returned from a visit to Mexico, expressed in a local newspaper his surprise and regret on dropping into a Mexican theater to discover an American newsreel devoted entirely to the production of armaments in the United States. At the least, he felt, Mexicans would get the idea that we were "a very warlike nation." Perhaps we are.

Variety, trade paper of the amusement world, reported early in June that army chiefs had met with motion picture executives to determine what part the cinema industry should play in boosting the nation's defense program. Producers were inclined to fear public reaction to outright propaganda in feature films, no matter how cleverly concealed (an indication, by the way, of the producers' growing respect for audience discrimination). Defense preparation should be shown, they felt, only in newsreels and other shorts devoted to actual events. A recent *New York Times* story, however, reports another conclave of exhibitors as giving assurance that the nation's screens would be available at any time for whatever use the government deemed necessary for the defense program. A *Variety* story tells of the production by the Warner studio of a series of shorts in technicolor to promote army service. The same studio is planning, too, some full-length films dealing with preparedness.

Prepare, and Forget

So far there has been little actual propaganda for preparedness in feature films. A pacifist in "Foreign Correspondent" turns out to be a nazi spy, and characters in all sorts of pictures have suddenly developed a surprising habit of holding forth on the benefits of Americanism. But this, again, is to be expected. "The Mortal Storm," "Four Sons," "The Man I Married," "Pastor Hall"—all anti-nazi films—picture the horrors of a regimented state, but it is always easier to point out the tragic drama in the sins of others than to look honestly at our own shortcomings. Moreover, no one can fairly claim that these films make any direct effort to hustle this country along the road to war.

Presentation of the dangers to our democracy, of the sickening reality of "total war"—by all means let us have it, and vividly. But the March of Time releases are crying in almost evangelistic tones: "Turn back! Forget what we have learned since the First World War. Feel, believe just as we did then. America must be first!" And it is the falsifying emotion of those years—as of today—rather than any "falsifying" hindsight that will be our destruction. These releases are not so much anti-fascist as a presentation of a sort of *America über alles,* a picture of Americans as a people destined to protect the wealth of the Indies and the future of the entire Western hemisphere. As such, would we not become what we seek to overcome?

To Muriel Lester

YOU sat there in the firelight, listening,
With eyes like vivid snares to trap the truth—
All your attention rushing to meet the sound.
We too were listening, but half-hearing,
In a dim twilight of creation,
With slumping heads and embryonic faces.
You are alive, while we are not yet born.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Religious Poetry in America

By Amos N. Wilder

ONE cannot approach the topic of religious poetry without being immediately confronted with the protest of thoughtful critics and readers against making such a category. How, they say, is one to distinguish between poetry of power, any significant poetry, and religious poetry? Is not all great poetry in a true sense religious poetry? Moreover, they are exceedingly sensitive and on guard against the didactic note in poetry, and rightly so. And does not most of our current religious poetry open itself to the charge of didacticism in the bad sense? Furthermore, even if it is not didactic, it can hardly be called distinguished. The dangers of sentimentality and the commonplace are particularly hard to escape for the religionist. Even if he be on guard against escapism, as some of our religious poets of social concern are, he is all too likely to fall into prose rather than into prophecy. It is therefore understandable that current criticism tends to ignore the religious and idealist poetry of today. If there are exceptions to this, they are the Catholic poet whose religious poetry is somehow given a grudging attention, or the Celtic mystic, or the outright primitivist.

Poetry Flows From Living Interests

The problem of religious poetry is part of a larger problem which has been much discussed lately, the problem of art and propaganda. What is the relation of aesthetics and conviction? Should poetry be a vehicle for communism, for some ethical standpoint, for Christian faith? Or should we insist on maintaining the autonomy of poetry as an art? The issue has been well treated by T. S. Eliot in a number of his essays. Poetry of value, he holds, will not be written except out of some set of living interests of the writer. There is hardly any such thing as a poetry that makes no confession at all. But there are differences. At one extreme we have Dante. At another is Shakespeare. Goethe comes somewhere in between. Poets can be placed according as they have a completely dominating and confessed set of beliefs, or only a sporadic dependence on special convictions. The reader will have to make the best he can of those beliefs to which he is antagonistic by *suspending his disbelief* and by understanding them as best he can. Above all, he will try to judge the poetry as poetry whether he agrees with its views or not. "While the 'greatness' of literature cannot be determined solely by literary standards we must remember that whether it is literature or not can be determined only by literary standards."

On such grounds an impartial reader of poetry should be prepared to welcome poetry written from religious convictions provided that it be indeed poetry. It will probably remain true that he will be disqualified from a full appreciation of poetry written out of convictions that he does not share. Yet a Christian believer can deeply enjoy the Rubaiyat, as indeed he enjoys the book of Ecclesiastes, and there would seem to be no reason why a well disposed agnostic should not enjoy Dante.

The rub today seems to come with religious poetry that has an ethical or idealist, not to say didactic, content. We have in mind poems like Frederick Myers' *St. Paul,* Abercrombie's *The Sale of St. Thomas,* Ralph Hodgson's *The Song of Honour,* Masefield's *The Everlasting Mercy,* Ridgely Torrence's *Eye-Witness.* A great deal of competent poetry written and read in Anglo-Saxon countries belongs in this area. In the immediate past we think of Kipling and of Edwin Markham. This kind of poetry suggests a number of questions. Why is it not better on the whole?* What hopes are there for that deeper passion that can make such quasi-religious poetry more significant? Is there not some relation between the weakness of this kind of traditionalist poetry and contemporary religious life itself? Does poetry in the Puritan tradition, the tradition of Milton, labor under a handicap? Did the Reformation deprive its followers of an adequate symbolism for works of the imagination?

The Puritan Foundations Decay

It seems likely indeed that the wealth of biblical imaginative material that Milton and Bunyan resorted to has lost today the relevance and prestige that it once had with the poet's reading public. The world has become secularized. Masefield's *The Everlasting Mercy* and Vachel Lindsay's *General Booth* and Kipling's work could still appeal to that material twenty years ago—indeed, the Negro spirituals do still—but the time seems to be rapidly passing when this is any longer possible. Religious poetry from poets of that tradition is likely to take a pantheist or pagan direction as in Miss Millay's *Renascence.* In general may we not say about the Puritan tradition in our time that not only has its biblical foundation lost its hold with the public as a resource for literature, but that this is only one aspect of the decline of the tradition itself?

Hawthorne, indeed, was the last important figure to write out of an American culture still powerfully unified and animated by Puritanism. Already when Emily Dickinson wrote, as Allen Tate has shown, that day was passing. Emerson's outlook testifies to the new independence and individualism, and at the same time to the new America which in industrialism and in free thought had exchanged its older religious vitality for a spiritual disorganization that has come down to the present day in successive phases. The Puritan inheritance is indeed ineradicably in the stock, and its stamp on the nation will never be removed. But it has been deeply overlaid by new influences, and today it does not offer any easy resource for an imaginative creation.

Poets Feel After Spiritual Unity

In asking ourselves what veins of imaginative material, what bodies of myth and symbol of wide appeal are avail-

*We recognize the greatness of *The Everlasting Mercy* and also of Bridges' *Testament of Beauty.* The former was published thirty years ago; the latter can never have wide appeal; both are by English writers.

able today to the Anglo-Saxon poet, it is instructive to consider some of the outstanding figures of the present or the recent past. W. B. Yeats after reflection passed the Christian tradition by, and clung to his Celtic symbolism which later found its place in a wider Neo-Platonic mysticism. When T. S. Eliot, of New England descent and temper, reached beyond his contemporary dilemmas to triumphant affirmation, he had to pass beyond the New England tradition into Anglo-catholicism to do so. E. A. Robinson, who fought the issue out in the framework of his forefathers, could not go beyond a heroic stoicism, first cousin to a dour Calvinism. Hart Crane, who made the most ambitious and talented attempt of our time to create an American epic in *The Bridge,* eschewed the Christian tradition. If his work was in the last analysis a failure, it was so because American society today has little spiritual unity and he could not alone by main force create an American myth.

The Regionalism of Lindsay

Vachel Lindsay in his lifelong warfare with the mammon and babbitry of America, especially inland America, turned up a great deal of imaginative folklore and legend for his purposes. Johnny Appleseed, the cavalier south ("The Virginians Are Coming Again"), the Negro and the Negro preacher, John Brown, even William Jennings Bryan, are examples. This material is, for the most part, however, local and recent. The most significant symbol will always have to be more universal. Lindsay touched it in "The Congo." It is of interest that while this prophet-poet acknowledged himself a Campbellite Protestant throughout his life, he does not seem to have pressed behind his church into some firmer grasp upon the whole Christian tradition. He used the Bible materials, but rather as an anthology on which to draw than as a decisive revelation.

It is illuminating to compare Lindsay with Walt Whitman. Both sought and found the materials for an American legend, but Whitman gave it a more far-reaching significance by the greater total vision in which he framed it. A poet who will launch himself far by the use of a particular folklore or national heritage must bring to it a quasi-religious view of man and history which lifts the mere regional sentiment to a higher significance. This is what Yeats did with Irish national lore, using the very great Platonic tradition. But the Christian tradition is still greater and holds the greatest promise for profound and universal literature in the future.

Yet it must be admitted that traditionalist poets writing out of this inheritance today do not satisfy our contemporary needs.* They do not explore that inheritance deeply enough to tap springs of unmistakable power. They do not relate that inheritance to the modern mood and its ills. But in both respects they resemble most of the churches of the Christian tradition. We will have greater religious poetry when the devout and mystical poets among us enter as deeply into the experience of grace as our poets of negation enter into the experience of perdition. Seizures in a vernal wood, didactic outbursts about bombing planes, and dilute personal lyricism will not cope with the works of the devil as they are exhibited to us by the twentieth century.

We are told by Jeremiah that the prophet's word is "like as a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces." We have to take this largely on faith as far as the religious poetry of our generation is concerned. The emergence of poets adequate to deal with the issues of our world crisis in terms of faith requires first the chastening and deepening all along the line of American religious life. Some of the world-shaping conviction of the Reformation must be recaptured, and some of its apocalyptic ardor. Those old springs that fed the modern world have been buried deep in the sands and need to be uncovered. It is not a matter of a new revivalism on the pattern of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is a matter rather of a new liberation in continuation of the Reformation, carried out this time not against a medieval church but against a modern neo-paganism found not only in the ideologies of apostate states but also in the very air we breathe in the democratic nations.

The discrimination and power for such tasks, whether on the part of prophet, reformer or poet, depend on the renewal of the Christian tradition in our time. That the tradition can renew itself is already demonstrated at those points where the irrepressible conflict with neo-paganism has already begun. The consequent tragedy brings both understanding and utterance.

*Wе do not forget Robert Frost, nor are we ungrateful to him. "His particulars everywhere run out into great universals." But is there not something of the Yankee's chilly skepticism in his failure to borrow wings from one of the world's great spiritual traditions?

BOOKS

The God of a Great Romantic

GOD: SOME CONVERSATIONS. *By Johann Gottfried Herder. Translation and notes by F. H. Burkhardt. Veritas Press, New York, $2.50.*

IT IS EASY for each age to think of itself as the time of spiritual change and to underestimate those periods of the past in which there was not only preparation for the present but anticipation of it. To read this volume is to enter into the spirit of an age of stimulating discussion in which once more the great questions about God and the world and man were being considered afresh under the stimulus of the work of such men as Leibniz and Spinoza, Hume and Kant, Goethe and Lessing.

Herder was not a great critical or speculative philosopher. He did not develop a system. But he had a profound feeling for religion and a mind which grasped great ideas with sympathy and imagination, and his writings acted as a ferment in many different fields. The study of this volume, but now translated into English, will help us better to understand the world after Kant, and our world, which is not to be explained simply by reference to Kant.

In this work there is manifest Herder's deeply religious spirit which he is seeking to express in forms that will do justice to the new thought of his day and to its revolutionary ideas which are still working in our time. He sees the world as one, as a living organism, where all is relation and gradation of being, as with Leibniz. He feels the pull of Spinoza's pantheism and seeks to interpret it so that there shall be conserved the significance of the individual and the

idea of an immanent God. He sees a dynamic world with constant and significant change. And everywhere the optimistic romanticist speaks. His active mind saw the meaning of these great ideas for the most varied fields of thought and research, for the philosophy of history, the development of language, the study of religion, the understanding of the Bible, poetry and law.

A few quotations taken from this work will illustrate Herder's position:

> *All the forces of nature function organically.* Every organization is nothing else than a system of living forces, which serve a principal force in accordance with eternal laws of wisdom, goodness and beauty. . . . They are activities through which the Deity has revealed himself, and no other, nor higher ones are conceivable. There is no death in creation, but metamorphosis. There is no rest in creation, for an inactive rest would be death. Every living force . . . progresses and perfects itself according to inner eternal laws of wisdom and goodness. . . .
>
> Thus nothing evil which could have reality exists in the realm of God. *All that is evil is a nonentity.* But we call evil that which is limitation, or opposition, or transition . . . . Opposites themselves help and need each other; because only through the union of the two does a world come into being in every substance, that is to say, an existing, whole being, complete in goodness as well as in beauty.

What strikes us is alike the modernness of much of this thought and the inadequacy of this idealistic romanticism for our own age.

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL.

Tweedsmuir and His Britain

PILGRIM'S WAY, AN ESSAY IN RECOLLECTION. *By John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir). Houghton Mifflin Company, $3.00.*

EVEN without knowing what the remaining three months may bring forth, one may safely pronounce this the biography of the year. The late governor general of Canada, whose lamented death in February 1940 ended a too brief term of service in that important office, was a man of varied accomplishments and achievements. Yet his innate and habitual modesty is such that he says as little about himself as any man can in writing a full-length autobiography. He does not celebrate himself. His theme is rather the England he has seen—rather the England and Scotland, for he was Scottish by lineage and birth and gravitated back to Scotland whenever circumstances permitted—and the persons he has known, including nearly everybody, and the changing mind of our times from the nineties of the last century to the forties of this.

But in spite of modesty and Scottish reticence there emerges, almost incidentally, the story of a full life and the picture of a personality that was one of the fine products of these fateful years. The son of a rural manse, John Buchan was brought up in the strict doctrine and discipline of Scotch Calvinism. Neither seemed a hardship, and there was no revolt, though his mind became liberalized by the classics and by travel and social contacts. Here is a little commentary on the familiar fallacy that one will necessarily turn against religion if one "has too much of it in childhood." In boyhood he was saturated with border tales and minstrelsy. At Oxford he devoted himself to Latin, Greek and philosophy and supported himself largely by winning prizes and scholarships. He had an opportunity to remain at Oxford and teach philosophy, but instead went to London and read law. For a time he was the intellectual young man about London. Life began seriously when he went to South Africa in a minor administrative capacity with Lord Milner at the end of the Boer War. Then a brief period of law practice in London, ten years as partner in a firm of publishers, war service (much interrupted by bad health), a longer period devoted to the writing of many books—histories, biographies and fiction—and finally elevation to the peerage and the governor generalship of Canada.

Two things make this autobiography notable. The first is the series of portraits of the men with whom the author had contact as politician or as publisher. Many of these are among the most eminent of the time; others are less known but worth knowing. To all of them he brings a power of analysis and portrayal scarcely possible except in a writer who was at once biographer and novelist. He could have been the Plutarch of his period, and to a considerable extent he was that in this book.

The other and even more extraordinary feature of the autobiography is its indirect but brilliant delineation of the author's own personality. One finds the evidences of a strong and independent mind which nevertheless had a tenacious sense of deep rootage in time and place. The spirit of adventure, both intellectual and physical, was strong in him, but he was no free lance, no soldier of fortune without fixed loyalties, no mere individualist. He had anchorages in the feeling of continuity with his family and people, in a deep attachment to the region where he felt he belonged, in the religion of his boyhood reconsidered but not rejected in manhood, and in the classical literature which has been the core of Europe's intellectual tradition for two thousand years and which (speaking as a publisher) still shows no sign of going out of print. It was perhaps characteristic of him that he should stand for Parliament as a candidate of the conservative party, but equally characteristic that he should speak of "that element of radicalism that is implicit in every good tory." With him the radical element was no less marked than the conservative. The essence of the British political tradition, he believed, was its regard for popular rights. New conditions call for new measures to protect those rights. He says something to the effect that the sound conservative may presently discover that only a program remarkably like what has been called socialism will conserve the old tradition of rights and liberties.

It is almost superfluous to remark, concerning the work of one who has given so many proofs of his competence as a writer, that the style is adequate to the matter. It is more than adequate. It adds a quality which, with the sincerity, simplicity and substance of the narrative, makes this one of the most rewarding biographies of recent years.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

WORLD TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS: ITS GROWTH, ITS CRISIS AND THE NEW TRADE POLICIES. *By L. B. Bacon and F. C. Schloemer. International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy; G. E. Stechert & Company, New York.*

The plan for this monumental volume (1,102 pages) was conceived by Dr. Henry C. Taylor, then the American representative on the permanent commission of the International Institute of Agriculture with headquarters at Rome. Dr. Taylor secured a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and enlisted the services of the two economists who are the authors of the work now published under the auspices of the institute. Its purpose is to present a picture, as nearly complete as possible, of the international movements of trade

in agricultural products during the past decade, though earlier data also appear in many of the tables. During this period the currents of trade have been profoundly affected by the policies of governments, as well as by cumulative consequences of the World War, depression phenomena and political considerations anticipating the present war. All these forces are discussed at length from the standpoint of the statistical economist. The tremendous collection of well organized data here made available is source material which should be—and, in fact, must be—studied by all who would avoid the fallacies implicit in vague generalizations and have a solid factual and statistical foundation for their opinions concerning international trade in food and other farm products and the national policies relevant to it.

INVASION. *By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.00.*

This is supposed to be a manuscript dug up in 1960 telling in detail of the great nazi invasion of America in 1940 or thereabouts. The details are adaptations of well documented events in Norway, Holland and Belgium. The American invasion was pretty terrifying while it lasted but it didn't get far. It was mostly confined to New York and the immediate vicinity. The hinterland, being less infested with fifth columnists, snuffed it out quite promptly. The argument is that "it can happen here." As a warning it is worth as much or as little as all such warnings are worth. Certainly it is no help toward a calm and rational consideration of America's present situation and a sane policy of defense. The reviewer remembers a similar book that was being circulated in France in the spring of 1924 entitled *The War of 1924,* being an anticipatory record of an imaginary German invasion of France in the autumn of that year.

NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF AUTHORITY. *By Yves Simon. Marquettte University Press, $1.50.*

This is the Aquinas Lecture for 1940 under the auspices of the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University. It is a scholarly and well articulated discussion throwing much light on the attitudes of modern Thomists and Aristotelians toward authority. Its criticisms of liberalism and liberals are particularly pungent. One of the faults of liberals is that they "fail to recognize the pedagogical function of coercion." Again: "One of the most constant, profound and pernicious features of the liberal mind consists in its refusal to recognize the part that authority has to play in the fostering and protection of theoretical truth." We can't say they didn't warn us if they ever succeed in restoring authority and coercion to the position which they had in the days when Thomism was in flower.

Books Received

What Is Christianity? By Charles Clayton Morrison. Willett, Clark & Co., $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Putting Words to Work, A Lively Guide to Correct and Vigorous English. By Edward N. Teall. Appleton-Century Company, $2.50. This is no such systematic listing of words as Crabb or Roget, but it is, as the subtitle promises, a lively discussion of many topics relating to grammar, style and spelling. Besides this more general matter, however, there is a large amount of specific and needed information about particular words and usages. There are few writers who would not be benefited by a careful study of this book. Somewhere in it (though this reviewer did not find it) there must be a warning against "kind of *a.*" Even Jove nods occasionally. Commenting on the "the . . . that" in "the quality that Gladstone said was basic," the author commends proceeding from the article to the demonstrative. But the "that" here is not a demonstrative.

What We Mean by Religion. By Willard L. Sperry. Harpers, $1.75. (To be reviewed.)

A Philosophy of the Christian Revelation. By Edwin Lewis. Harpers, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Great Jewish Women. By Elma Ehrlich Levinger. Behrman's Jewish Book House, $1.50. Stories of about thirty Hebrew heroines of ancient, talmudic and modern times, skillfully told especially for Jewish young people.

The Borgia Pope, Alexander the Sixth. By Orestes Ferrara. Sheed & Ward, $3.50. (To be reviewed.)

Let's Celebrate Christmas: Parties, Plays, Legends, Carols, Poetry, Stories. By Horace J. Gardner. A. S. Barnes & Co., $2.50. It won't be long now until preparations for Christmas will be in the air. For home, school or church, the materials here collected will be useful and suggestive.

Footprints of the Trojan Horse. Citizens Educational Service, 122 E. 42nd St., New York. This large-page, large-type, large-picture book has for its subtitle, "Some methods used by foreign agents within the United States." It contains, however, no revelation of the secret machinations of fifth columnists, but rather a pictorial indictment of the fascist system wherever and whenever it is put into operation, with some account of the ways in which it seeks to justify itself when it is on the way in.

The Story of the Other Wise Man. By Henry van Dyke. New edition. Harpers, 75 cents. Correction: price is as here stated, not as previously given.

The Chorti Indians of Guatemala. By Charles Wisdom. University of Chicago Press, $4.50. (To be reviewed.)

Into My Storehouse. By John E. Simpson. Revell, $1.50. This "treasure chest of stewardship materials" is probably the most extensive and varied collection of material dealing with the relation of the Christian to his possessions. It includes sermon outlines, citations and analyses of biblical teachings, illustrations, stewardship plans and programs, and a graded course of instruction for youth of all ages.

My Name Is Million. Anonymous. Macmillan, $2.50. The unnamed author is an Englishwoman said to be well known to American readers. Her husband is a Pole. With trained skill and with a poise that makes the depth of her feeling the more impressive, she tells the story of the invasion and destruction of Poland, not as a military exploit but as an experience for those who suffered the desolation. This should go into the permanent record as part of the history of the war of 1939.

Man of Spain, A Biography of Francis Suarez. By Joseph H. Fichter. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

An Introduction to Philo Judaeus. By Erwin R. Goodenough. Yale University Press, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

God's Troubadour, The Story of Saint Francis of Assisi. By Sophie Jewett. Crowell, $2.00. Story it is, not history or biography. The lovely legends are so interwoven with the facts of Francis' life that it is not easy to separate them, and here no attempt is made. This graceful telling of the familiar tales is for young readers. The illustrations by Elinore Blaisdell are excellent.

Concord's Happy Rebel, Henry David Thoreau. By Hildegarde Hawthorne. Longmans, $2.00. Thoreau fled from fame, but it has pursued him. Yet to the younger generation he is perhaps little more than a name. This smoothly written account of his life and personality, with its especially felicitous title, brings him back to life delightfully. In these columns there was recent mention (Sept. 25) of a new one-volume edition of Thoreau's writings. That and this furnish ample material for a fresh acquaintance with Thoreau.

Do You Know Labor? Facts about the Labor Movement. By James Myers. National Home Library Foundation, Washington, D. C., 50 cents. Not a statistical fact-book but a comprehensive survey of present aspects of the labor movement and the problems connected with it. There is no dodging of the hard questions. The book is especially suitable for use by classes and discussion groups. The author is, as everyone knows, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Evolution of Wisdom, A Study of the Church. By Frank S. Gordon. Author, Blairstown, N. J., 35 cents. A generalization on the development and degeneration of the church, fitting into a pattern already laid down by the author in earlier pamphlets.

"Here the attempt is . . . to see Jesus and the church as the laws of growth demand, not necessarily as either actually is."

CORRESPONDENCE

Have We a Tribal God?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Now that "fourteen outstanding American religious leaders have joined in asking their coreligionists to observe September 29 as a day of national prayer to be known as Great Britain Day," may we not raise the question as to whether God has become a tribal deity. Yet the appeal for prayer on this "Great Britain Day" reads, "In the spirit of the Lord's prayer let us most of all seek that God's will may be done in the present crisis."

Is it fair to ask whether the God of "the Lord's prayer" is not also the Father of the German women and children who have suffered losses from bombing raids as have British mothers and children? Can any call to prayer in such an hour as this be made in the name of one nation and one people? Ought not the religious leadership of this nation today, if they be true representatives of the God to whom Jesus prayed, ask for prayers for *all* who suffer and are crucified on the cross of war?

If God does not endure agony over the cries that rise from wounded children in Berlin as well as from the lips of those crushed by nazi bombs in London's East End, then he is no longer the God interpreted by Jesus in the Lord's prayer. He has become a tribal deity. I refuse to believe that God has one kind of welcome for little English children blown into eternity and another kind for German babies suddenly taken from their mothers' arms by the violence of British bombs.

In such momentous days of tension and international crisis, what word has the church to offer above the noise of battle? What light and guidance for its own membership and for the nations in their distress? Surely it must be a message of a God of all nations, not of a tribal deity. And any call to prayer which will lift our thoughts and our devotion above the killing effects of war and the destructive results of nationalism and militarism must needs be a call that is given not in the name of one nation or one people, but on behalf of all suffering humanity everywhere.

I protest against the wording of this call from fourteen outstanding religious leaders.

Smith College, S. RALPH HARLOW.
Northampton, Mass.

The Case of Professor Stuart

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My attention has been called to a recent editorial in your paper which indicates I had something to do with the firing of one Streeter Stuart, teacher in Southeastern State College, because he wrote me a letter opposing conscription and that he got no reply. I think a factual statement is in order and I hope you will be good enough to publish it.

On August 9, Professor Stuart wrote me from Boyertown, Pennsylvania, indicating his home was Durant. While I received hundreds of letters from good patriotic citizens opposing the draft, the professor's letter was unusual and demanding. He said in part: "Let me for one go on record as making myself clear that I intend to kill no one for any reason. I will cooperate in no way with anyone, whatever his name or purpose, in killing human beings under any pretense. Will you fight as hard to represent me as to represent anyone else in your district? If you do not fight against such conscription I should appreciate a personal letter giving me full explanation as to just how I am being represented in the United States House of Representatives." I turned his letter over to the Dies committee, inasmuch as work in Congress is done in committees and this committee investigates un-American activities.

I then replied to Professor Stuart, advising him I was opposed to war but it is a question of defending our country in time of need, or to adequately prepare it before the emergency arises. I asked him if he would be willing for this country to be overrun as the small countries of Europe have been, and if he believed in police protection from gangsters. He seemed to be lacking in patriotism, so I advised him that I felt if this country is good enough to live in, it ought to be good enough to fight for, if need be.

Recently the Communist headquarters in Oklahoma City wrote a letter presumably to all newspapers in Oklahoma in behalf of Mr. Stuart. It seems passing strange that the Communists are defending Mr. Stuart and Harry Bridges in opposition to the work of the Dies committee on un-American activities.

In closing, let me say I had nothing to do with Stuart's discharge from the college. Apparently the college authorities believed his views are detrimental to the interest of that college.

House of Representatives, WILBURN CARTWRIGHT.
Washington, D. C.

[If the congressman "had nothing to do" with Stuart's discharge, how did the college president come into possession of the letter Mr. Stuart wrote the congressman, which letter was the pretext for the discharge?—THE EDITORS.]

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Members of the American Association of University Professors on this campus were delighted to read your editorial on the Streeter Stuart case. Public condemnation of such summary dismissals is the only thing that will protect higher education in this country at this time.

You will be interested to know that the local chapter of the A.A.U.P. has appointed a committee to raise a fund to help Mr. Stuart. The chairman is Professor W. C. Randels of this university. Gratifying progress has been made in collecting money in this institution and an effort is under way to carry the undertaking to other parts of this state and to other states.

University of Oklahoma, CHARLES M. PERRY.
Norman, Okla.

The Church at Its Best

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your issue of September 18 Dr. D. P. McGeachy of Decatur, Georgia, writes, "There is no hesitation on my part in saying that in the Blue Ridge ashram I saw the church at its best." He then goes on to say frankly and gloomily that it was a poor best because it wasn't living up to its pretensions—it was a best of fine personalities and high ideals but not of Christlike action. What isn't clear is why Dr. McGeachy should have expected to find at an ashram at lovely Blue Ridge anything different from what he did find. I venture to suggest two places in his own southland from which a visitor can take away more optimistic conclusions. They are two among a score or so which my wife and I visited this summer.

One is Big Lick, Tennessee, in the Cumberland highland. It is not the easiest place in the world to find, but the effort is well rewarded. From the little church, when one gets to it, there is a marvelous view. But that is not all. The church itself is beautiful, and it has an annex which houses a community assembly hall and library. It was built by the local folks, built literally with their own hands, the minister, Eugene Smathers, being foreman of construction. Mr. Smathers received his training at a theological seminary, which did not teach building supervision. Neither did the seminary teach health leadership. But Smathers, finding the health situation of the community desperate ("I have known families who had to sell their only cow to pay a doctor bill, or even mortgage their little bit of land") has also led his people in a successful campaign for improving that situation. Not far from the church now stands the Big Lick "House of Health," with a full-time nurse in charge, doctors in attendance at twice-a-month clinics, and much home health work being carried on.

When Eugene Smathers went to Big Lick he found a community which had been largely dependent on the lumber industry for support and with the decline of that industry was under the necessity of living as best it could off small farms with soil relatively

poor. A few years ago the average cash income of the families on these farms was not above $50 a year. This meant that the problem of making a living was basic to any advance in Christian living, and that making a living was mainly a matter of improved farming technique. Smathers undertook the leadership which this analysis called for and which was not otherwise available. Group study on the part of local farmers led to better understanding of what fertilizers could do and hence to more efficient and economical use of them. It led also to cooperative purchase of expensive farm implements, to improvement of cattle, to the joint operation of a sawmill which provides some employment and enables farmers to market such timber as remains on their lands.

A recreation program seeks to add to the brightness and wholesomeness of life in a remote community. A "church homestead plan" which may prove highly significant is under way. In all these matters Big Lick, as the county agricultural agent has said, "is setting a pattern for surrounding communities." Between 1932 and 1934 Smathers had four widely scattered churches to look after. "The problems were so great," he says, "and my limited abilities and energy spread so thinly that I accomplished nothing, unless it was some preparation for my future endeavors. As an absentee pastor I could only preach and this left me very uncomfortable in the face of the pressing needs of the people." In 1934 the parish was divided and the way thus opened for what is happening at Big Lick. I almost forgot to say that the work is under Presbyterian auspices.

The other place is Bricks, North Carolina, a one-time plantation in the lowlands where cotton is king and tobacco and peanuts share the royal honors. The work here is sponsored by the Congregationalists and is in charge of Neill McLean. Mr. McLean—Hampton graduate in agriculture with Cornell studies added—was in a chicken house when we arrived. He wore overalls which did not have the appearance of a dress uniform. He told us later that some of the good folks of the community had at first been disturbed by his practice of dressing and working like one of them. They told him that he wouldn't be respected, and he didn't know but what they might be right. But he was willing to take a chance. His idea of community leadership was that it should be exerted from within.

For decades the church agency which now supports McLean had maintained schools at Bricks—first a primary school, then a high school, then a junior college. But in late years the expansion of the state school system has made such church institutions increasingly superfluous. A rethinking of the church's responsibility to the Negro workers and their families on the old plantation became necessary. Among the facts faced was that of "the futility of building educational programs, formal or informal, and preaching religious idealism unless at least people's elemental wants are undergirded with economic security." For four years now Mr. McLean has been working at this undergirding job, and much that goes beyond it. Items—group study, cooperative buying, diversification of crops, improvement of stock breeds, recreation programs, a credit union, a garden club, live Sunday school and church services—are reminiscent of those met with at Big Lick. And results, though the program is hardly more than started, are equally impressive. Even the tourist who drives past the plantation on U.S. 301 at fifty miles an hour is likely to notice some of them. If he stops long enough to look at farm homes a little way off the highway he will surely be astounded.

These Negro farmers and their wives have been studying landscaping—at least some of them have, quite evidently. The tourist should have his camera along. This foundation planting, these spacious lawns, flower borders, rock gardens, this freshly painted lawn furniture. . . . No, the folks who live here aren't rich farmers. They are poor. By accepted American standards they are very poor. But they are intelligent, they work hard, they study their jobs, and they have Christian leadership with training suited to their needs. They are tenants of a church agency which hasn't taken the easy idealistic way of turning the land over to them but instead is giving them a chance to develop capacity for farm ownership.

What I have said gives an all too meager idea of what is happening at Bricks. Let me add only that prominent white people in near-by Enfield express a most friendly interest in the enterprise and that Mr. McLean (of course he isn't "Mr." to these white friends) has warm praise for their help.

At the risk of embarrassing two modest men, if you publish this letter, I offer Big Lick, Tennessee, and Bricks, North Carolina, as Exhibits 1 and 2 in a demonstration of "The Church At Its Best." More about the Big Lick enterprise can be learned from a pamphlet written by Mr. Smathers and published by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Rev. Howard Kester, Black Mountain, N. C., was secretary of the fellowship at the date of my last information. The work at Bricks is described in a booklet which may be had by addressing Fred L. Brownlee at New York Congregational headquarters, 287 Fourth Avenue.

Madison, N. J. FRANK EAKIN.

Query from India

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The *Harijan* of last issue publishes a letter of Ralph T. Templin, written on July 17, in which these words are quoted (a cable from the Methodist mission board of which Templin is a missionary at Muttra, India): "Your missionary effectiveness seriously impaired, making necessary with regret immediate recall."

Christian Century readers know of the Kristagraha movement in India started by some of the followers of Stanley Jones. The Smiths and Paul Keene have already returned from that mission due to pressure from mission authorities. But the Templins had stayed on and differences seemed to be adjusting themselves. The news above astonishes many of us.

The Templins have made their impression upon lovers of India. I know Indians who have gone to their home freely in the past and have come to trust and love the Templins. I would say that few missionaries come so close to India's heart as have the Templins. Is this the price that must be paid for such love when one is a missionary? I know the picture is not so simple. Yet those of us on the outside naturally react in this manner. My Hindu friends at once ask: "Why is it that mission authorities will not allow such people as the Templins to stay with us?" How often we hear said: "Why are American missionaries so pro-British; why do they not identify themselves more with India?" I do not want to say anything except that when missions come out of these difficulties, which face every organization in these days of change and adjustment, it will be with a very poor record so far as India is concerned.

Bangalore, South India. RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN.

Very Foreign Correspondence

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Many of your readers will doubtless see the new film produced by Walter Wanger, "Foreign Correspondent." Your own film review service has already panned the picture, but its social effect demands more extended treatment. The picture is at once so timely and so extremely foreign to any foreign correspondent's experience that I have ever seen, heard of or imagined, that perhaps some comment is excusable. I don't criticize the picture in indignation alone, for there is much about it to admire: in order to be so completely wrong about everything, a touch of genius is required. In many thousands of miles of European travel and much reporting from abroad, as well as frequent attendance at motion pictures in numerous countries, I have never yet witnessed such a uniformly inexact portrayal, both in the small and in the large, of subjects around which a picture is built. A motion picture story, like any other story, need not adhere to truth; the trouble is, this film has been designed to create the impression that it does.

The film would remain merely a great adventure in gullibility were it not for the fact that in certain respects it is more sinister than stupid. Millions of persons are now going to be taught the lesson that the real fifth columnists are the heads of peace organizations, who are secretly agents of the nazis. This idea is central to the whole plot and the entire picture hangs on it. The moral is a simple one: look out for the fellows who are trying to prevent war, because they are the nazis who start them. This is

a charmingly naive point of view which well fits the present state of the American mind.

Professionally, as the very least of foreign reporters must, I have a grouch at the way in which the trade is made to appear under the grease paint and greasy intelligence of Hollywood. Thus the central character, who has been so zealously eager to get a story on subjects about which he knows absolutely nothing (having been chosen largely for that reason) and who has been working with the friends of Great Britain against the dastardly nazis, succeeds in getting the story to his paper in America by cleverly outwitting a British official who is merely trying to keep news from leaking out that might do military damage to his people, and by defying all the regulations which the British authorities have set up in the national interest.

Thanks to the strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which works up to a fine frenzy of patriotism when the correspondent advises America to ring itself with guns and steel, the audience goes away enchanted. When I attended, I listened for comments in the lobby, and to say that they were generous is putting it mildly. There is no doubt that more Americans than ever are now going to be informed on foreign affairs, the course of the war, and the needs of American policy. They are going to be thrilled more than ever before at the ingenuity with which an ignorant crime reporter who scarcely knows whether Norway is south of Switzerland or east of Poland, discovered what the war was all about and was able to chart the course of international affairs for the American public.

It all makes one feel very humble. Like many another, I have spent hard efforts, painful travel, and conscientious study in order to understand at first hand something of what Europe is up to and why. And it is all so unnecessary now! Americans, who knew almost everything before, will now know all. The other day the man who comes around now and then to collect clothes for pressing, upon finding out that I had recently returned from a long stay in Europe, launched into a detailed lecture on precisely what was back of every diplomatic move before the war and since. He is typical of thousands I have met. Now there will be more thousands, for they will not only know all about Europe's wartime diplomacy and plotting, but they will understand how foreign, very foreign, news is gathered.

Wilton, Conn. DEVERE ALLEN.

Sanctity of the Throne

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The articles on the religious situation in Japan by Harold E. Fey have interested me greatly. But I must confess that the titles to his articles in your issues of August 28 and September 8 have shocked my sense of what a Christian journal of the type which The Christian Century aspires to be, should carry. They are highly sensational. They may even be described as Hearstian. Were they only that I would hold my pen—or rather typewriter. In my humble opinion they cannot fail to injure the Christian cause in Japan, for they will undoubtedly deeply offend not only Japan's hysterical nationalists but also Japanese Christians generally.

The title, "The Emperor Who Plays God," will surely be regarded in Japan not only as a deliberate insult to the emperor whom all the people reverence and love, but also a slap in the face of the entire nation. What good such a title can possibly do I cannot imagine. In fact it seems to me positively unchristian to refer in this taunting, "holier than thou" way to the emperor, the revered symbol of national unity, of the central sanction for the stability of the national social order, of a remarkable history, and of lofty national idealism.

How, I wonder, would the American people, The Christian Century, and even Mr. Fey himself, react to some slurring attack by a Japanese writer on the American Constitution and flag? And is the United States altogether free from the same spirit of exaggerated national idealism and sense of manifest destiny which Mr. Fey criticizes in Japan, when we think or talk or write about giving to all the world the blessings of democracy?

After rereading Mr. Fey's three articles which have thus far come to hand I feel that he fails to understand the real situation in Japan, and to make allowance for the rising hysteria in this war-mad world, which hysteria is sweeping over even our own beloved land. Personally I feel that we can trust the good judgment and Christian sanity of the Christian leaders in Japan as fully as we can those of the Christian leaders of the West. I would fain write more fully on this matter of understanding Japan and especially on the significance of her emperor cult, but I desist lest my letter become too long for your correspondence column.

My last word is that The Christian Century should at least be Christian.

Honolulu, T. H. SIDNEY L. GULICK.

[Do the Japanese insist that the emperor is a "living god" or do they not? If this is the official doctrine, why not face that as a fact?—H. E. F.]

The Battle of the Texts

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Steven T. Byington has given us a typical example of how we stop short when we find a Scripture verse that proves our way of thinking to be correct. In answering Mr. Pinkham he says: "But we read in Luke 6:27 and 22:36 that he said, 'Love your enemies. . . . But now . . . he that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword.'" Let us follow through Jesus' teaching about this sword. Just two verses later in the same chapter we read: "And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough." Two swords enough for what, we might ask?

We read another interesting thing about these same swords in Matt. 26:51-52. "One of them . . . drew his sword, and smote the servant of the high priest, and struck off his ear. Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." In the light of the entire story about the sword does Mr. Byington think Jesus was teaching us sometimes to kill our enemies even though we love them?

Allegheny Ave. Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa. AMOS B. BARTON.

Is This What America Wants?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "The draft ought to be made as popular as possible; and it ought to be aimed at raising contingents of born brutes and young brutes. . . . For our total-war forces, we've got to have men who are strong, smart, young and brutal."

This is an extract from an editorial that appeared on September 12 in the *New York Daily News* (circulation 3,000,000) and the *Washington Times-Herald*. The entire editorial was of similar tenor emphasizing the necessity of brutality in an army:

"We've trained our young men differently—made them Boy Scouts, CCC'ers, etc., to whom the thought of firing a gun at another human being was abhorrent, or supposed to be. We may pay for that some time. But there may yet be time to collect and train an army of men whose brutal instincts will be attuned to the even more brutal machines of twentieth century war.

"A draft run on lottery principles will not deliver this result. A selective draft will—if the local draft boards are instructed to select strong, smart, young, brutal men exclusively."

A World War instructor in the bayonet drill told me once that a fellow instructor taught the drill with three words to correspond with the three essential motions of the body: "God—damn—you!" and with that the bayonet struck home. Christian teaching has recognized that the cave man survives within us and its aim has been to transfer control from "the old Adam" to what Paul calls "the new man in Christ Jesus."

We are indebted to the *New York Daily News* and the *Washington Times-Herald* for introducing realism in place of sentimentality into discussions of conscription. Such editorials should dispel the "softness" of Christians who have blessed the draft.

Washington, D. C. FREDERICK J. LIBBY.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Wartime London Works in Raids

Morale Stiffens Under Attacks—Wealth Socialization Grows—Population Shift May be Permanent

(Special Correspondence)

LONDON, Sept. 18.—The battle still rages over London. Night brings the wail of the sirens, followed by the drone of planes and the land barrage. Morning brings the report of damage done in one part or another of the 700 square miles which London covers. The new barrage has proved itself so real a defense that we have come to welcome even its deafening roar. Two objects are surmised as foremost in the German mind—to break London's morale and to dislocate British communications. Neither has been achieved, and it is now clear that neither will be. The Londoner has proved his courage and fortitude. Those who have suffered most now regard themselves as real participants in the battle. The communications of England are not broken. Its roads are not like the roads of Belgium.

* * *

Air Attacks Stiffen Resistance

Our air fleet has proved its quality and has inflicted, especially on Sunday last, smashing defeats on attackers. It waits still the invasion which is evidently planned; but it waits not less but more prepared because of the battle of London. Whether Göring did fly over London in reality or only in propaganda, it is a pity he could not know London as it is. The attacks on Buckingham palace have in fact done the Germans an irreparable harm. Two things have made the Londoners and all our people angry, the havoc done in east London and the cruel and wanton attack upon the king and queen.

* * *

Rumored Shift in War Arena

The autumn equinox is past and we still wait. It may well be that a great diversion will be made through diplomacy. It is possible that the invasion of England will be continued in the air only. There are rumors of a new German-Italian concentration on the Near East and Africa. Mr. Churchill, who spoke last week with his customary gravity, warned us once more against overconfidence and a relaxation of vigilance. The workers in the factories which supply the Royal Air Force are reminded again of the serious part they play in the present hour. They have done magnificent service. Mr. Sinclair has declared on his part as head of the air ministry that his department is working night and day at the problem of night interception and is making progress. He even adds that he looks forward to a time when "the pleasure of night bombing over Britain . . . will cease to be attractive to Field Marshal Göring." But the winter, as the king told us, will be cold and dark, to be endured bravely with the hope of spring before us.

* * *

Keynes Advocates Wealth Socialization

Last night Mr. Keynes made an important statement. It was at once reassuring and premonitory. When the war began Mr. Keynes, as I then explained, gave up his time to the advocacy of what was generally called a system of "compulsory saving." That has not been adopted. In its place a widespread and successful attempt has been made to secure for the nation the savings of its people without compulsion. The diagnosis which Mr. Keynes made has never been disproved. It rests upon incontrovertible facts. He admits frankly that after a year of war the methods adopted have so far proved adequate to keep out inflation. More will be required of us when we reach the full measure of our expenditure upon the war.

But Mr. Keynes does not by any means take an unfavorable view of our financial position as it is now, or as it may be after the war. We shall have to do, either voluntarily or otherwise, what he describes: work hard, spend as little as possible, give our savings to the nation. The war has revealed nothing beyond our powers. There is no reason to anticipate a lowered standard of living following the war; indeed, if we deal wisely and boldly with the situation, he says there may be a standard of living higher than any we have known. Our wealth even now, after a year of war, is more than it was in 1937.

* * *

Air Raid Shelters Inadequate

Our statesmen are still busy upon the defense of London from night attacks. London is working toward far-reaching changes in the redistribution of its citizens, and in the provision of shelter, especially at night. The plans made for fighting fire and caring for casualties have proved their value. Nothing can be nobler than the story of the A.R.P. workers of all kinds, and with them must be mentioned the clergy and the magnificent body of doctors and nurses. But clearly the shelters provided are not sufficient either in size or in the provision made. It is proposed to provide more shelters in basements, and to construct a great number of wooden bunks; the tubes (underground railways) are to be made available and equipped with attendants for those who spend the night there. Other shelters will be built rapidly. Some are urging a comprehensive scheme of deep shelters. It is said that this could be done for 120 million pounds.

* * *

Many Leave London for Rural Areas

The movement of population from more to less crowded areas is encouraged and furthered. Women and children are being taken into the country wherever that is possible. Something will be done to make this "return to the land" a useful beginning of a social change of permanent importance.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Baptist Says Pope Sides with Victor

Editor Sees Pius Neutral Until Victor Is Apparent—Negroes Voice Protest Against White Primary

(Correspondence from the Southeast)

TAMPA, Oct. 2.—Editor O. P. Gilbert of the *Christian Index*, Baptist paper of Georgia, is mild-mannered and as a rule avoids controversy. Recently however he wrote an editorial calling Pope Pius XII "The Great Straddler." He said the head of the Roman Catholic Church appeared to be first on one side and then on the other, according to the fortunes of war and power politics in Europe. He declared this was an established policy of the hierarchy, pointing out that it first opposed Mussolini, then came to terms with him, and later opposed Hitler and the nazis, only to soften opposition as nazi domination increases. Concluding his editorial, Dr. Gilbert wrote: "Pope Pius XII is standing astride every crack in the social order of Europe, Asia and America, and his diplomats in all the great capitals of the world will inform him of the winning side in time for him to attach himself to it."

* * *

Bishop Says Criticism of Pope Comforts Nazis

Bishop Gerald O'Hara, Roman Catholic prelate of Savannah and Atlanta, chagrined at this blunt criticism of his ecclesiastical superior, wired the editor: "I have just learned of your vile editorial on His Holiness Pope Pius XII. For shame, sir! In the name of common decency and Christian charity I protest against such a lack of Christian spirit. Fortunately such outbursts reflect the sentiment of not many of our Baptist brethren in Georgia."

The *Bulletin*, Catholic newspaper of Georgia, on Sept. 28, asked Baptists not to give comfort to nazis and communists by creating strife among Christians. The editorial said that Editor Gilbert erred in interpreting history. Editor Gilbert responded, quoting the *Baptist Times* of London and other religious journals, in support of his criticisms of Roman Catholic policy.

* * *

Schools Use Non-Sectarian Bible Course

The Tampa ministers association has furnished the public schools of the entire county a reading course in the Bible for daily use in the classes. The course includes 100 lessons from the Old and New Testaments with notes on non-sectarian interpretation and moral application, together with supplementary references for moral instruction. The course was prepared by C. B. Williams, formerly of Baylor University, under the special committee of the Tampa ministers association and the city's superintendent of public instruction. Principals and teachers have received the course with appreciation and assurances of cooperation and hearty support. It is said that many

other Florida towns and cities are interested in this new approach.

* * *

Negroes Protest Exclusion From Ballot

Georgia Negro leaders recently denounced the practice in southern states of holding "white Democratic primaries" that exclude the Negro from the ballot. They also pointed out that the poll tax had the same effect on many Negro voters. Speaking to a group representing church, educational, business and fraternal organizations, Bishop W. A. Fountain, a senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said, "White primaries are a violation of the Constitution and deprive large numbers of useful citizens of the rights and privileges of representative government." He said that the traditional one-party system is hurtful to the south and responsible for our delayed economic and social awakening.

* * *

University Dedicates New Church School Building

On Oct. 6 a handsome new church school building will be dedicated on the campus of Emory University. The $250,000 structure will be used in connection with the Glenn Memorial Chapel, it was announced by Nat G. Long, pastor. The entire building is constructed around an outdoor amphitheater seating 1,000. The dedication message will be delivered by Franklin N. Parker, dean of Emory's divinity school.

* * *

'Give Your Soles to The British'

Plans to help the British take many forms in the southeast. In Atlanta a group of women are collecting shoes for the relief of British families left destitute by bombings. Barrels in department stores and shoe stores carry signs reading: "Don't be a Heel. Give your Soles to the British."

* * *

And So Forth

Baptist women of Georgia will unveil a memorial to Miss Lottie Moon, famed Baptist missionary of China, in the churchyard of the Baptist Church in Cartersville, Ga., where Miss Moon was a member in early life. She went to China as a missionary of that church in 1873.

The Interracial Commission held its annual meeting in Atlanta Oct. 3-4. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina is president. Emphasis has been placed by the commission on the tenant and sharecropper problems looking to a plan of land rehabilitation.

ADIEL J. MONCRIEF, JR.

Federal Council Names Head Of Army Chaplains

Dr. Paul Dwight Moody, president of Middlebury College, Vt., has been appointed to serve as "liaison official" between the churches and the Protestant chaplains of the army and navy. The appointment was made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America through its General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains. The Federal Council points out that Dr. Moody will serve as a civilian "ambassador-at-large" from the churches to the chaplains. The Roman Catholic Church, it was stated, has a similar official working in the interest of Catholic chaplains.

South Is Greatest Catholic Opening

Catholic Leader Cites Gains In Protestant Area—New Scientific Society Is Promised in South

(Correspondence from Virginia)

RICHMOND, Oct. 8.—Paul D. Williams, executive secretary of the Catholic Conference of the South, spoke to the annual teachers institute of the Catholic diocese of Richmond recently. He agreed with Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara that the south is the "religious opportunity number one" of the nation. He said: "No sooner had our President labeled us as the nation's economic problem number one, when there arose intelligent protests from individuals and groups representing the best minds in the south. One of the first groups to speak was the Southern States Industrial Council, whose president, Fitzgerald Hall, maintained that the "south is the hope of the nation, economically, socially and politically.' Similar expressions were heard from the board of southern governors and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, while articles in such periodicals as *Harpers, Fortune* and the *Wall Street Journal* supported these viewpoints."

* * *

South Rich in Human Resources

Dr. Williams emphasized that the south is richer than any section of the country in man power and in the idealism of her people. In man power, because while other sections show a sharp population decline, the south continues to have a healthy birth rate. In idealism, because the southern people have remained a religious people possessing infinite patience despite oppression and exploitation in the case of large groups of her people. And yet potential greatness from this man power and idealism depends upon a decent standard of living and in this regard, to use Bishop O'Hara's words, "the church steps in and presents as a pattern her social, Christian teachings, based on justice and charity."

* * *

Consultation Service Aids Adults to Fit Vocations

Under the state department of education in cooperation with the Virginia state employment service and the National Youth Administration the Richmond consultation service offers free tests, counsel and advice to adults who are no longer in school in working out their vocational plans. It does not register applicants for work, nor does it have direct contacts with employers and jobs. But it offers help to the applicant to discover his own aptitudes and skills. It reveals his deficiencies and gives direction for further study and preparation where that is necessary.

* * *

Southern Scientific Interest Grows

According to a Richmond newspaper, the Alabama Academy of Science is sponsoring a meeting to be held in Mobile next spring at which a southern scientific society will be formed. In the ante bellum days the south was famed for its interest

FALL BOOKS

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in literary, scientific and philosophical pursuits. The University of Virginia and the *College of William* and Mary offered courses which were greedily pursued. Only recently, too, there has reappeared in *Richmond the Southern Literary Messenger,* founded in 1834 and revived in 1939. *Edgar Allan Poe* made his contributions to this magazine. It is now edited by Miss F. Meredith Dietz.

* * *

And So Forth

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern) is out in a campaign to raise $350,000 for the General Assembly's training school in Richmond. The goal for this city's share is $75,000.

Dr. Charles E. Maddry, executive secretary of the foreign missions board of the Southern Baptist Convention, a short time ago sent a check for $100,000 to the beleaguered Baptist Missionary Society of *England and intends soon to send another* $100,000. His society has just returned to Nigeria Dr. and Mrs. George Green of Danville, Va., who have spent 37 years there.

Plans are under way for the restoration of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in New Kent county, Va. It was erected in 1703. It was at this old church that George Washington and his bride, Martha Dandridge Custis, attended services. It was used as a stable by the Union forces in the Civil War. The restoration will cost about $20,000.

F. W. BURNHAM.

Tippett Succeeds Smith In Los Angeles

Donald H. Tippett of Bexley Methodist Church, Columbus, O., has accepted the invitation of First Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Cal., to succeed Roy L. Smith, who is resigning to become editor of the new Methodist weekly magazine. Dr. Tippett's Columbus pastorate was 10 years in length.

A.C.L.U. Urges Objectors To Register

The American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Sq. W., New York, is prepared to provide legal defense for conscientious objectors but it urges all such to register on Oct. 16. "The words, 'Conscientious objector' may be written on the margin of the registration card. Objectors may even attach to the card a letter stating fully their position. Failure to register places the C.O. in the same position as the draft evader."

Denison Installs New President

Denison University will install its new president, Kenneth I. Brown, on Oct. 18. Alan Valentine, president of the University of Rochester, will deliver the inaugural address. Dr. Brown, 13th president of Denison, served for ten years as president of Hiram College.

St. Louis Launches Religious Training

Classes in religious instruction for public elementary school pupils in St. Louis are starting now in October, Superintendent of Instruction Homer W. Anderson has announced. Pupils will be excused from regular lessons. The classes will be held away from the school buildings. Parents must give their children written permission.

Report Big Drop In Churchgoing

Chicago Commission Reveals One-Third Cut In Decade—Methodists and Disciples Uphold Conscientious Objectors

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Oct. 7.—*The first union ministers'* meeting of the autumn, held Sept. 30 in Central Y.M.C.A. auditorium, was given to preparation for the Chicago meeting of the National Christian Mission, *which will be held Nov. 17-20, and to the* year's program of evangelism sponsored by *the federation, of which the mission is a* vital part. Clarence R. Diercks, chairman of the local committee directing the mission, gave *detailed information about the* program. Thirty speakers of national and *international reputation will participate,* among them E. Stanley Jones, of India; Paul E. Sherer, New York Lutheran pastor; Oscar Blackwelder, *of Washington, D. C.;* Richard Roberts, former moderator of the *United Church of Canada;* Adolph Keller, of Geneva, Switzerland; and Miss Muriel Lester, founder of Kingsley Hall, London. Dr. Caughran, chairman of the evangelism commission, in presenting the need for the mission, gave *some figures which were* somewhat amazing. He stated that, whereas 12 years ago the average Sunday morning church congregation represented an attendance equal to 34 per cent of the total membership, the present average is a number equal to only 23 per cent of the membership. And yet, each year has shown a net increase in the membership of Protestant churches in America. If these figures are correct, this situation indicates an appalling indifference to the church even on the part of its members, a condition far more serious than would be active opposition to the church from outsiders. Such a "church loyalty crusade" as this National Christian Mission will undertake seems to be indicated.

* * *

Lloyd Douglas Opens Sunday Evening Club

Lloyd C. Douglas, famous author of *Magnificent Obsession* and other best-selling novels, was the speaker at the opening service of the Chicago Sunday Evening Club's 34th season on Oct. 6. Clifford W. Barnes, president and founder of the club, presided. The Apollo Club, Chicago's oldest choral group, sang selections from Mendelssohn's *Elijah* at the early service, and the club's own choir provided the music for the main service.

* * *

Two Denominations Uphold C.O.'s.

This is the season of the year for state conventions and conferences. The Disciples and Methodists have already met, the former closing their state convention at Bloomington on Sept. 26, and the latter meeting during the past week at Freeport in the Rock River conference. The Disciples urged acceptance of responsibility for "ministering to the human suffering caused by wars now raging in Europe, Asia and Africa," affirmed their stand against allowing the churches to be used to foster the war spirit, and stated their purpose to uphold conscientious objectors by giving them "spiritual, material and legal aid." The *Methodists also said that they would "strive* to maintain freedom of conscience and to give needed assistance to those of our membership who feel bound in loyalty to Christ not to participate in war and training for *war." The Rock River conference also* took a hard crack at the alliance of crime and politics which, it was asserted, exists in Cook county.

* * *

***Illinois Federations Give* Strong Leadership**

Illinois is very fortunate in having efficient councils of churches throughout the state and in its greatest city. I have before me the latest bulletins of both the Chicago church federation and the Illinois church *council, and it would take pages to tell,* in even the briefest form, of the various timely activities being conducted by these organizations. A series of rural life conferences conducted under the auspices of the *Illinois church council is possibly the most* significant undertaking of that organization in addition to its sponsorship of the state Christian mission. The state council has made great strides forward since Charles *E. Shike became executive secretary.* One hardly knows what to pick out for special reference from the broad gauge program of the Chicago church federation, with its great number of committees and commissions. But certainly not of least importance is the cooperative work undertaken by the social service department and the Chicago council of social agencies. One of the projects for this fall is a series of lectures for ministers and social workers on the subject "When the Family Brings its Troubles to the Minister." Meetings will be held on four successive Monday afternoons, beginning Oct. 14.

* * *

And So Forth

Seventeen ballots failed to elect a successor to the late Bishop George Craig Stewart in the Episcopal diocese of Chicago at the special convention which met Sept. 24 at the Church of the Epiphany. Consequently an adjournment was taken until Oct. 25. High and low church elements found themselves unable to get together on a candidate.

Edgar DeWitt Jones of Detroit was the chief speaker at the anniversary dinner of the University Church of Disciples of Christ on Oct. 4, when Edward Scribner Ames, who is retiring after a notable 40-year pastorate, was honored. This was only one event in an eight-day program which included many meetings, a reception, the unveiling of a bronze tablet designed by W. E. Garrison of The Christian Century, and the presentation of a volume, *Faith of the Free,* honoring Dr. Ames.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Wartime Inconsistency of Theologians Deplored

Speaking at a New Haven forum on "theological education in a world at war," Lawson Willard of Trinity Episcopal Church criticized the inconsistency of theologians who condemn war in peacetime but "jump on the bandwagon" in a crisis. He suggested that since the church had taken a definite stand it should stand on its stand.

World Fair Ends With Peace Plea

Temple of Religion Closes With Peace Meeting—Thomas Returns to Ballot as Progressive—War Talk Hit

(Correspondence from Northern California)

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 4.—Probably a million people passed through the Temple of Religion of the Treasure Island World's Fair before it closed its doors on Sept. 29 with all bills paid. Four thousand people attended the peace meeting in the plaza of the Temple on the final afternoon. Later, at the last vesper service, the University of California choir sang and this correspondent spoke. Framed testimonials were presented to F. D. Parr, honorary president; to Rabbi Coffee, president, and to Mrs. A. F. Hockenbeamer, vice-president. Dr. Shields, the director, and his staff were given a testimonial dinner by the board of directors. Dr. Shields is moving to Chicago to become secretary of a committee to aid Christian refugees. Interfaith understanding and cooperation hereabouts received a strong impetus from this Temple project.

* * *

Thomas a Candidate of Progressives

While in San Francisco, Norman Thomas spoke at the Pacific School of Religion on the dangers of conscription. The following day, at Sacramento, he addressed the state convention of the Progressive party, which accepted him as its candidate for the presidency. The state supreme court has just denied a petition to keep Mr. Thomas off the Progressive party ticket in California, so his followers rejoice that his name will be on the ballot, even though he did not qualify as a Socialist because of the falling off of the vote. Efforts are being made to exclude Communists from the ballot.

University professors have been warned by the administration to refrain from political activities because of the Hatch Act. The Berkeley school board has insisted against much pressure that Communists may hold meetings in schools.

* * *

Pacific School Presents Noted Lecturers

For Founder's Day, Oct. 10, the Pacific School of Religion secured H. Richard Niebuhr, professor of ethics in Yale Divinity School. He is to give a "supplementary" Earl lecture. His brother, Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, will give the principal Earl lectures in March in connection with the National Christian Mission. Arthur E. Holt of Chicago, visiting professor in the Pacific School, has been heard with great profit in several churches in this area. Fritz Kunkel, psychotherapist of Berlin, also is temporarily a member of the faculty this year.

* * *

Baptists Decry War Hysteria

C. T. Axworthy of Vallejo was chosen moderator, and Raymond Bailey of Vallejo vice-moderator, of the 88th Northern California Baptist convention. A resolution adopted by the meeting decried the current war hysteria, urged all Baptists "to be on guard against the spirit of hysteria and propaganda now sweeping over our nation and the world and to continue to represent the claims of the gospel as the great remedy for the scourge of war."

* * *

Bishop Parsons Retires

Civic leaders joined with a great host of church friends at a reception given at the Fairmont Hotel in honor of Bishop Edward L. Parsons, who is retiring from administrative duties. He was extolled as a leader in public affairs, fearless in championing unpopular causes. Not long ago the University of California tendered him an honorary degree. Another retirement from active service which attracted community interest was that of Homer K. Pitman on Oct. 4. Dr. Pitman has for 20 years been in charge of Trinity Center, a demonstration parish of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions. He has arranged the union Easter sunrise services on Mt. Davidson for many years.

* * *

And So Forth

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reports the organization of a committee to counsel conscientious objectors. Among its members are Bishop Edward L. Parsons and Alfred G. Fisk of State Teachers College. Berkeley's similar committee is headed by R. F. Leavens.

Robert E. Speer and Joseph R. Sizoo are the speakers for the Evangelical Conference which meets again in the First Presbyterian Church, Berkeley, the last three days of October. Many pastors from the northern half of the state will attend.

Presbyterians presented a purse with a bound volume of testimonial letters to William J. Fisher on his retirement after serving a third of the century in San Francisco presbytery, most of the time as its stated clerk.

STANLEY ARMSTRONG HUNTER.

Quakers Shun Service On Draft Boards

At the annual peace-workers' conference in Media, Pa., Quakers were urged to be true to their convictions and traditions. It was recommended that representatives from all Quaker meetings visit their local draft boards to present their Quaker viewpoint, but that no Friend should serve on a registration or draft board for military conscription. "It is not enough to protest against conscription, not enough to clean up messes throughout the world," Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, told the conference. "Quakers must be concerned for a creative world. This is our most important function. We are feeding 25,000 regularly in France," he stated. "Outside of one American Red Cross worker, we are the only continuing organization still in Germany. Quaker meetings are functioning in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Prague, Vienna and Paris." He also spoke of the Quaker service in Canada.

Jewish Groups Are Merged

Merger of the Jewish Education Association with the Jewish Education Committee of New York has been announced. The former group, it was stated, will turn over assets and personnel to the latter.

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F.O.R. Discusses Draft Act Issues

Boston Pacifist Group Doubles—Legion Abandons Neutrality—Churches Build New Program

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, Oct. 1.—Two significant September meetings impress your correspondent by their striking contrast. On Sept. 12 the Fellowship of Reconciliation met in South Natick at the home of Richard Gregg, author of *The Power of Nonviolence*. The house was built in 1681, and the colonial atmosphere has been charmingly restored in walls and furniture by the skill of Mrs. Gregg. Amid such surroundings the 70 persons present responded as one to the call for silent worship at opening and close of the meeting. George L. Paine, who presided, is an Episcopalian and a descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Paine and Mr. Gregg gave vivid reports of the conference and school of prayer held at Chautauqua, where Muriel Lester asked the searching question: "When empire fails, what next?" The national membership of the F.O.R. was reported as 8,000, having increased 2,000 in the past year, while the membership in Boston has doubled. The proportion of young men and women both at Chautauqua and at Natick is significant. The problems of the conscientious objector in view of the new draft law were considered by a group loyal to the principles of both the founders of the republic and the founder of Christianity.

* * *

The American Legion Abandons Neutrality

The American Legion, which met in Boston in 1930, came again last week. No city welcomes it more heartily. The lowest estimate of the unprecedented throngs who witnessed its parade of 80,000 marchers is 2,000,000. The Legionnaires are a decade older than they were at the time of their last visit. They are more decorous, but as vigorous as ever. The women now take a more prominent part. The American Legion's former insistence upon preparedness and neutrality was displaced by open avowal of sympathy with England and China. The delegates jamming Symphony Hall were brought to their feet by the resolution offered by Judge Wilbur Alter: "We, as lovers of peace and human freedom, devoted to the principles of justice, freedom and democracy, condemn aggression and the aggressor nations and all war parties that are leading their peoples to death and ruin and the world to chaos." An amendment by Judge Thomas Quinn of Massachusetts, substituting for this resolution support of the Monroe Doctrine and neutrality, was opposed by Alfred P. Kelley of Oregon, who said: "The people don't want from us mealy-mouthed appeasement! Great Britain is fighting our battle for us. Strength, courage, idealism will give us peace. Weakness, fear, appeasement will bring us war!" The amendment was shouted down by a chorus of "No!" The Alter resolution was carried with as thunderous a "Yes," the opposition mustering only three or four "Nays."

Similarly reversing its stand, the *Harvard Crimson* calls for "All aid to England short of war." President Conant, breaking the unwritten rule of the university, told the students that this country must "not only build home defenses but strengthen those fighting across the seas." President Seymour of Yale, at a banquet here, said that "America should marry the British fleet and nation."

* * *

Revere Statue Unveiled After 50 Years

On Sept. 22 the American Legion participated in the unveiling of the equestrian statue of Paul Revere near the Old North Church from whose belfry flashed in 1775 the signal which sent him to "spread the alarm in every Middlesex village and farm." Although the sculptor's design won the $50,000 award more than 50 years ago, the comments of art critics and civic irresolution delayed acceptance. In 1934 the artist—Cyrus E. Dallin—set to work and reproduced his model in the heroic statue whose erection was made possible by the White fund. When last spring realization of his dream was assured, Mr. Dallin said: "I have reached the age of 79. Life brings too many fine things to hold grudges! I have always considered 'Paul Revere' my finest work, and felt that I should live to see it permanently erected in Boston." May it call, not only to military, but to moral rearmament!

* * *

Boston Develops United Christian Mission

A special committee of the council of churches, with Dr. Ashley Day Leavitt as chairman, has been planning an advance program since spring. There will be at least seven commissions, whose chairmen constitute the executive committee. The subjects scheduled for the program are as follows: "The Meaning of God in Human Experience," "Problems of Social Disintegration," "Responsibility of the Church in World Affairs," and "Recruiting for an Adequate Church." Each local congregation is asked to appoint three representatives who will be called together two or three times in order that the studies and recommendations of the commissions may reach the council's whole constituency.

* * *

Worcester Centenarian Pastor Dies

Myron W. Powell, executive vice-president of the Worcester council, calls attention to the death in Holden in July of Thomas E. Babb, only one month before his 100th birthday. He graduated from Amherst College in 1865, and from Andover Seminary in 1868. In spite of his years, he was an honored friend of youth and annually dedicated a sermon to them.

E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

Carolina Pacifists Meet at Duke

Pacifists of the southeastern states will meet on Oct. 18 at the School of Religion, Duke University. A. J. Muste will speak. Worship and a mock tribunal for C.O.'s will be features of the program. The conference is being arranged by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Edwin Brock, Box 4589, Duke Station, Durham, N. C. is in charge.

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New York Debates 'Total Aid' Issue

Butler Warns Faculty—Manning Proclaims Holy War—Peace Plan Outlaws Aid—Eucharist Unites Protestants

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Oct. 5.—Stating that Columbia University had thrown its resources into the national defense effort and had enlisted in the war "between beasts and human beings," in which the United States has been involved economically and ideologically since hostilities began, Nicholas Murray Butler advised the university faculties meeting in extraordinary assembly to resign voluntarily if their convictions brought them into open conflict with the university's "freedom to go its way toward its lofty aim." At the same time Nelson P. Mead, acting president of City College, warned the freshman class of 1,000 young men that democracy cannot be defended by "idle words or pat formulas," but that it must defend itself with "the same ruthlessness that totalitarian nations show. . . . And I feel that you young men will be confronted with the problem of defending the ideals that my generation took for granted." In last Sunday's sermon Bishop Manning insisted that "this is a war against justice, liberty and against Christianity itself. This is a struggle in which no Christian and no true American can remain *neutral* either in heart or in action." On the same day Henry Darlington of the Church of the Heavenly Rest, Manhattan, declared: "The issue is either democracy or despotism, and it is a fight to the finish. We of the democracies wrestle not against flesh and blood but against the rulers of darkness, spiritual wickedness and evil."

* * *

New Program Outlined to Keep Out of War

The Keep America Out of War Congress and the Fellowship of Reconciliation cooperated in holding a mass meeting last Friday evening at the Hotel Capitol, Manhattan. The speakers included: Norman Thomas, Socialist leader; Evan W. Thomas, M.D., imprisoned conscientious objector in First World War; Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker;* Allan Knight Chalmers, minister of Broadway Tabernacle; Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue, and Michael Harris, Philadelphia subregional director of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. The purposes of the meeting were: no further involvement in war, no loans to belligerents, no mutual defense pacts and repeal of conscription; meantime, no use of draftees overseas and exemptions for conscientious objectors. A call has been sent out for a demonstration on registration day, when certain pacifists will refuse to register. The War Resisters' League, however, has advised registration and the majority of the pacifist group feel that the young people should abide by the regulations of the conscription law.

* * *

Protestants Unite on World Communion Sunday

There has been no united religious service which has been so generally celebrated throughout the city by Protestant churches of all denominations as was "World Communion Sunday" yesterday. Bishop Stires of the Long Island Episcopal diocese sent out a special letter requesting the clergy to recognize the day. All denominational and federation officers sent out special calls for the day. Thousands of loyalty and commitment cards were distributed by pastors to their congregations. In Arlington Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, a second communion service was celebrated in the chapel after the evening service. In the Bronx the third annual parade under the auspices of the Christian Loyalty Society was held Sunday afternoon. The marchers proceeded to the Calvary Methodist Church, where a special service was held addressed by Robert W. Searle of the Greater New York federation of churches. We have many religious parades, but few of Protestants.

* * *

Jews Celebrate New Year by Giving Refugee Aid

The traditional ram's horn was sounded at sundown Wednesday evening to usher in the year 5,701 of the Jewish calendar. The more than two million Jews in the city stayed in their homes and fasted during the day after attending special services held in synagogues, centers and all Jewish institutions throughout the city. According to established custom, in the Brooklyn Hebrew Home the oldest resident, Morris Cohen, who has passed his 108th birthday, went from room to room wishing each inmate a "Happy New Year." Special collections were taken in synagogues and services for refugee and Palestine relief.

* * *

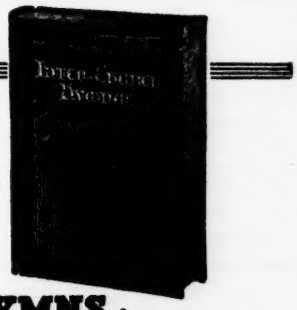
Religious Educators Discuss New Opportunities

Over 500 ministers, teachers and church workers attended the various sessions of the diversified program for religious education week, which was sponsored by the four federations of churches and the various denominations in the city. The meetings were held at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Manhattan, last Thursday. The morning discussion centered around the question of the new "dismissed time for religious education made available by the state of New York." The participants included Walter M. Howlett and Imogene M. McPherson of the Greater New York federation of churches; Henry Ludwig, Jr., president of the Protestant Teachers' Association, and Father William A. Scully, director of education of the archdiocese of New York.

* * *

And So Forth

Twenty-two Unitarian churches in the metropolitan area united in a service in honor of "The Spiritual Ancestors of Free Religion" on Sunday afternoon in the auditorium of the Hall of Fame, New York University. Frederick M. Eliot, of Cambridge, Mass., president of the American



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Unitarian Association, gave the main address on the topic, "Unitarian Contributions to American Life."

Mayor La Guardia, as a committing magistrate in his drive against obscene publications on newsstands, on Tuesday held Julius Stolz, president of the Interborough News Company, for trial in special sessions on a charge of distributing an objectionable magazine in violation of the law.

J. Henry Carpenter.

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St. Paul's Honors Bomb Squad

Rescuers' Names Inscribed in Book—Free Churches Form Federal Council—Leaders Decry Color Bar

(Correspondence from England)

London, Sept. 20.—"Hero" is not a word to be lightly used. But they were without doubt heroes who removed the delayed action bomb from outside St. Paul's Cathedral. These men faced the risk of instant death, and they did it with the coolness and imperturbability of the finest soldiers in the thick of a battle. Canon Cockin of St. Paul's, who saw the actual removal, has told of the profound gratitude of the cathedral authorities. The sequel makes a pleasant story. The men who had saved St. Paul's were taken round it to see what they had saved. Their names were inscribed in a book which will be preserved in the cathedral. It will not surprise those who know and love the Londoner that one of the men surveying the burrow which they had made to extricate the bomb remarked, "I think when this war's over I shall retire and keep rabbits."

* * *

New Free Church Federal Council Organized

On Sept. 17 a new body called the Free Church Federal Council came into being. This is not the beginning of federal cooperation among these churches. For many years there have been two councils, one more definitely representative of the various communions. The constitution of the new council will combine the functions of both the older ones, which have worked side by side with a growing sense of unity in their purpose. There will now be a council which can express the common mind of about 7,000,000 free churchmen. Such a council does not take from the individual churches their independence, but it will provide a most necessary instrument of common action. Nothing is nearer to the heart of Dr. S. W. Hughes, secretary of the Free Church Council, than that this instrument should be used for the evangelization of this country. The first president is Rev. Walter H. Armstrong, president-elect of the Methodist Church and a wholehearted evangelist.

* * *

Anglicans Condemn Church Lethargy

In the Christian churches the main difference in the immediate outlook is between those who think that it is not a favorable time for reorganization, and those who believe that in such a time of disturbance there is the best opportunity of overcoming the apathy which is always the chief enemy. In the *Church Times* it is strongly contended that the Anglican Church has some urgent matters to consider now. There is the need for a new agreement to end the confusion that exists upon the canon law; there is the problem of Christian education, a life-and-death concern; and there is the call to make a better use of the man power and financial resources in an England which is changing before our eyes. This paper, which speaks for Anglo-catholics, severely condemns the lethargy with which these pressing needs are received by many who are leaders of the church.

* * *

Unity and Diversity Among Free Churchmen

In the same paper there is a note upon the changes which it discovers in many free churchmen. It points out that among the Congregationalists there are Christians as wide apart in their views as Christians can well be. It chooses as illustrations Dr. Albert Peel and Dr. Micklem; Dr. Peel, an outspoken advocate of the tradition of these churches, and Dr. Micklem, who shows a deep sympathy for the Catholic faith. It is perfectly true that there are today, and there have always been, different schools among the Congregationalists.

* * *

Divisions That Are Cross Sections

The divisions indeed between Christians are often cross sections and in every community there are "high" and "low" and "broad." It is also true that between Dr. Peel and Dr. Micklem there are differences in ecclesiastical outlook; but it is altogether misleading to talk of "Peel-ites," as if there were any such party; and the principal of Mansfield would be horrified if an "ites" were added to his name. It is true, however, that among free churchmen in this generation there is a greater readiness to discover and to enjoy whatever has been discovered of Christ in other communions.

* * *

Churchmen Decry Color Bar

An important letter upon British tradition and the color bar has been signed by the archbishops, the moderators of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and the president of the National Free Church Council. It has been issued with the full support of Cardinal Hinsley. The writers affirm the true British tradition, without claiming that we have always fully realized or expressed it. "The work of the individual members of the empire comes to be measured by personal character and ability" rather than by color. Three directions are given in which help is sought in the present hour: (1) A concentrated effort to remove the barriers of race and color which exist in the British colonies. (2) Creating in this country an informed public opinion, which will no longer tolerate passive acquiescence in the application of the color bar, as for example in the practice of many hotel managements. (3) Extending the hospitality of English homes to colored people.

* * *

And So Forth

Some Londoners went to work by "water bus" for the first time last week. There used to be a fleet of such steamers used by many thousands.

Much damage has been done to some of the city churches. Most of those that have suffered are the work of Christopher Wren. Many windows have been shattered and ceilings torn. Services continue in other churches.

The ministry of health has appealed to householders to volunteer to accommodate homeless victims of air raids.

Edward Shillito.

Civil Rights Hit In Southland

War Psychosis Deepens—Draft Opponents Jailed—Hospitals Draw Race Lines—Free Books Boom Schools

(Correspondence from Mississippi)

ABERDEEN, Oct. 4.—Instances of increasing war-mindedness abound. Commonwealth College at Mena, Ark., was fined $2,500 by a local justice of the peace for failing to fly an American flag. The case was appealed. The president of Hendrix College told students to obey every order of Congress and under no circumstances to debate, discuss or disagree. General Harris, vice-president of the Farmers' Union, a Presbyterian minister well known in the region, was arrested in Birmingham to prevent him from speaking against conscription. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare managed to get him out, but only after time for the meeting was past.

* * *

Conscientious Objectors Are Unknown

Conscientious objectors are practically unknown here. No newspapers have advocated pacifism and few ministers have preached it. There is popular hostility to anyone not willing to fight in a war. There will be few, if any, pacifist pulpits in this area. The number of volunteers from Mississippi is so large that there will probably be no Mississipians taken in the first draft. Meanwhile the first permanent military camp in Mississippi is being constructed near Hattiesburg, resulting in thousands seeking jobs which only a few obtain.

* * *

Opponent of Church Union Dies

James B. Hutton, Nestor of Mississippi Presbyterians, died recently at the age of 74. For 44 years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Jackson, he had literally been bishop of the state. He was a member of the Southwestern College board of trustees and a leader in efforts to keep it under traditional Presbyterian control. The leading opponent of church union, he was a member of the denominational committee dealing with that subject. Belhaven College, a girls' school in Jackson with high standards, is a concrete result of his interest in education. A pronounced dry, he was always active in the cause and influential in all moral reform. He was a leader of the conservative group in the Southern Presbyterian Church. At his request the funeral was conducted by William C. Robinson of Columbia Seminary, who will probably take his place as leader of the conservative element in the church.

* * *

Dying Negroes Refused Hospitalization

A legislative committee investigating charity wards in private hospitals has exposed many of them. The Houston, Miss., hospital was officially charged—with documentary evidence—with making patients pay and then also making the state pay for service to them. This double system of extortion is said to exist in many other hospitals. Running hospitals is usually a short cut to riches, as they are tax-exempt. The committee has found instances of Negroes about to die being refused entrance by charity wards because they would not pay an extra $25.

* * *

Poor Crops; Bad Jails, New Electric Chair

Jail conditions in Crittenden county, Ark., across from Memphis, are being exposed by the press. Collusion, connivance in crime, frame-ups, cruelty and unspeakable jail conditions are charged. Nothing has been done so far. Meanwhile Mississippi is preparing to use its new electric chair, the executioner to get $100 a job. The executioner says he is looking forward to his prospective task, as his farm has had a poor crop this year. Poor crops have been so widespread as to hurt business, usually brisk only in the fall. But the poorest tenant farmer is being charged on each bale to pay for a cotton council which affords high salaried jobs for a few planters.

* * *

Free Books Increase School Attendance

Free schoolbooks are crowding the schools with underprivileged children. One first-grade Negro teacher, who formerly taught 40 pupils, has 179 in his classes so far. This free schoolbook program, the greatest gift the Negro as well as the poorer white has ever been given, has been sanctimoniously assailed by the wealthy and by the clergy who cater to them as dangerous to independence and to Americanism.

* * *

And So Forth

Because of overcrowding, Dahlonega College students are living in the county jail.

The state of Louisiana has put an end to its sales tax.

Nine Mississippi counties are using food stamps.

Dr. Guerry, Sewanee vice-chancellor, has asked students and alumni to help rid Sewanee of "hazing, complacency, inertia, destruction of property, too much drinking, overemphasis on football, and failure to face facts and meet issues."

A retired Methodist minister sent a dollar bill to a Columbus, Miss., man for a watermelon stolen from him 73 years ago.

CHARLES GRANVILLE HAMILTON.

Bishop Oxnam Urges Registration of C.O.'s

Refusal to register for military service on Oct. 16 would "flout the generous and wise action of the government" in providing legal status for the conscientious objector, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Boston area of the Methodist Church declared in a special "conscientious objector" number of *Zions Herald*, independent Methodist weekly. "Some conscientious objectors, almost arrogant in their assumption of being the only true Christians, are planning a call for mass refusal to register," he wrote. "These should bear in mind that the church has already secured legal status for the objector. They should understand that such resistance is likely to jeopardize the very rights the church has won." Bishop Oxnam is one of two bishops who are members of the Methodist Peace Commission. He was not speaking in that capacity on this occasion, however. The consensus of church opinion agrees with him.

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WILLETT, CLARK

Churches United In First Mission

Kansas City Sees Wide Cooperation—Churches of Disinherited Not Reached—Work Only Begun

(Special Correspondence)

KANSAS CITY, Oct. 8.—The first Christian Mission, which was held here Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, turned out to be a religious emphasis week for the entire city and its area. For the first time a really united effort has been made by the churches of this city. The emphasis was on evangelism, social action and religious education. The Federal Council, represented by Jesse M. Bader, the Home Missions Council, whose contribution was made under the leadership of Mark A. Dawber, and the International Council of Religious Education, through Harry C. Munro, combined their efforts to reveal in a significant manner the power of Protestantism when it speaks and acts unitedly.

Results Already Visible

Now that the mission is a matter of history, several results are evident. (1) The mission reached a larger number of denominations than any previous movement, including such groups as the Episcopalians, Lutherans, Nazarenes and the Latter Day Saints. (2) It reached schools, social agencies, cultural and fellowship clubs to a gratifying extent. (3) It included as participants labor groups, the junior chamber of commerce and the service clubs. (4) It included the area surrounding the city in a way which has never applied before. Geographically half of Missouri and more than half of Kansas joined in the preparations.

Thirty-nine national leaders comprised the mission team. These members kept 264 engagements and had numerous interviews with individuals and seminar groups. Nearly 50 radio programs went on the air.

Each morning team members met for breakfast together with local leaders. These were real fellowship meetings. Plans toward making the mission more effective were considered in an atmosphere of prayer and devotion. Suggestions were made to individual members of the team who lacked effectiveness. As a result of this experience it is felt that it would be preferable to hold decentralized mass meetings in the evening, which would mean seven or eight simultaneous meetings rather than one. In only three instances was the municipal auditorium comfortably filled. These were the meetings addressed by E. Stanley Jones and the closing meeting addressed by Albert W. Beaven.

The seminars did offer opportunity for certain leaders to follow through consistently on the week's study. The seminar on "Religion and Health" was added to the original seven and attracted a large audience. The fact that it was held at 2 o'clock ruled out business men, laymen and youth. The morning Bible forums in eight scattered sections of the city included only women. One of the important evening mass meetings was sponsored by labor and addressed by A. J. Muste and Spencer Miller, Jr.

The young people planned their own program which was concentrated on Friday and Saturday. Every phase of the major problems facing youth was considered—race, family, unemployment, crime, the draft and unchurched areas. The worship services and the commitments were conducted by youth. No color lines were observed at any sessions.

Totalitarian Christianity

All through the mission the great appeal for commitment to the individual in seminars, luncheon meetings, Bible forums and lay meetings was made voluntarily to adopt a discipline as thoroughgoing and rigid as that which obtains in the dictator nations. Stanley Jones and Muriel Lester presented in each of their several messages the need for Christians to regard the Kingdom of God as a totalitarian pattern. J. Harry Cotton, Paul Scherer, Roy A. Burkhart and others especially made this emphasis in the ministers' meetings.

The success of the Christian Mission ultimately depends on how effectively the program is carried on in the follow-up organizations. The lay evangelistic and church attendance campaign, which will follow under Dr. Black's leadership, will no doubt strengthen local churches. But there are still too many churches that will not consent to cooperation. One denominational leader said that there are 40 churches in his communion in Kansas City and that 25 of these are chiefly interested in the second coming of Christ. Numerous cults which appeal to the families on the lowest economic level did not participate. The great mass of unemployed and laborers who are touched by religion at all are members of these non-cooperating groups.

As a result of this mission, hundreds of individual Christians are going to work more devotedly toward making a united Christian impact upon the life of this city. Lesser numbers are actually going to adopt the program of a disciplined life. But most of us feel that the work of the Christian Mission is not yet accomplished. The mission only described to us the urgency of the task which faces the Protestant church.

JOSEPH C. CLEVELAND.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Argentine Nights (Univ.) Andrews Sisters Ritz Brothers	*Musical comedy.* Life at a South American hotel occupied by a girls' band, the Andrews and the Ritzes—all samples of the U. S.	The cast—especially the Ritz brothers—is lively and animated. But not so the audience which views its cavortings. Dull; *a good one to stay away from.*
Christmas in July (Par.) Ellen Drew F. Pangborn Dick Powell	*Comedy.* Victims of practical joke, boy and girl from New York's east side "ride high" for a time, thinking he has won prize in coffee slogan contest. Disillusion, then success.	Not up to "McGinty" (by same director) in imaginative touches and insights. Still, deft handling of situations, presentation of "human interest" bits and burlesque of self-important executives and advertising shibboleths make it *delightful comedy.* M, Y
Dance, Girl, Dance (RKO) Lucille Ball V. Field L. Hayward M. Ouspenskaya M. O'Hara	*Drama.* Struggles of a pair of dancers to get ahead. Nice, hard working one becomes ballerina; cheap, selfish one, a "burlesque" queen. Neither gets man both want.	Contrast in character and aspirations of girls at times makes for effective, even poignant, drama. But portions devoted to bibulous play-boy and resulting triangle are trite and ordinary. "Burlesque" episodes make film suitable only for mature audience. *Sordid, jumbled.* M
Military Academy (Col.) Bobby Jordan Tommy Kelly Jackie Searle	*Life in boys' school.* How a group of "yearlings" learn through hard experience to respect their school's tradition: "Look out for the other fellow."	Some good track meet shots, and military background not especially stressed. Qualities of courage, loyalty, sacrifice, honor, respect for authority are celebrated. *Of interest to junior-hi age.* Y, C
The Secret Seven (Col.) Bruce Bennett B. MacLane Florence Rice	*Melodrama.* Young convict, reformed, organizes committee of scientists to solve crimes on their own when police fail. Events prove their methods invaluable.	More like a demonstration on amateur crime detection than a feature film. Stilted direction and fantastic story rank it *as amateurish as the "detection" it pictures.* Y
The Westerner (UA) Walter Brennan Gary Cooper Doris Davenport	*"Western."* A cowboy who outwits a crooked yet likable saloon-keeping judge comes at length to see the side of the pioneer farmers in their conflict with jealous cattlemen. Part of judge based on historical fact.	Deeper undertones than in average "western," but action, particularly in later portion, is drawn out and heavy. Whether we are to feel dislike or affection for judge is never quite clear. Panoramic scenes impressive. *In general, fairly interesting.* M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Anne of Windy Poplars, The Biscuit Eater, The Howards of Virginia, Young People, Young Tom Edison.

For Mature Audience: All This and Heaven Too, Brigham Young—Frontiersman, Edison the Man, The Fight for Life, Four Sons, Gone With the Wind, The Great McGinty, The Mortal Storm, Pride and Prejudice, Our Town, The Sea Hawk, Three Faces West.

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